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THE WESTERNERS AMONG THE FIGURINES  
OF THE  
T'ANG DYNASTY OF CHINA



ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO  
ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

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XX

THE WESTERNERS  
AMONG THE FIGURINES  
OF THE  
T'ANG DYNASTY OF CHINA

28153

BY

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THE WESTERN BARBARIANS  
OR «HU» OF THE CHINESE HISTORICAL TEXTS

	Linguistic Grouping	Racial Grouping
Tatars	Turkic (in earlier times, Mongolian in speech before the Mongolian invasion of the thirteenth century)	Altaic <sup>a</sup>
Uighurs	" "	"
Eastern & Western Turks	" "	"
Sha-t'o	" "	"
Chionites-Hephthalites or White Huns	Iranian	Iranian
Westerners, members of both Roman empires		
A. Mediterraneo-Caucasian	Anatolian	Armenoid <sup>b</sup>
	Caucasian, including Armenians	Mediterranean
	Indo-Europeans	
	Turkic	{ Armenoid } mixed
		{ Altaic }
B. Semites	Semitic	Semitic
Tocharians	Indo-European: Centum Tocharian group	Europeanoid
Kashgarians	East or north Iranian	Caucaso-Iranian <sup>c</sup>
Ferghanese, Samarkandians, Bokharians	"	" with
	"	Altaic infiltration
Khorezmians	"	"
Khotanese	Saka, east or north Iranian	1. Caucao-Iranian Related to Kushans
	East or north Iranian	2. Alpine (Homo Alpinus)
	"	3. South Asiatic Affinities
North Indians	Indo-European: Indian	Racial type of N. W. India
Arabs	Semitic	Semitic or Caucao-Semitic

a) By Altaic, the type designated is the present Mongolian, with oval face, yellowish skin, slanting eyes, small nose, straight black hair, long torso and arms, short legs, Mongolian spot present.

b) Armenoid type: one of the Eastern branches of the Mediterraneo-Caucasian race, characterized by brunette skin, prominent noses, broad, short skulls. The Hurrians, the pre-Indo-European Hittites and Armenians, and numerous other highland tribes of the ancient near East may be classed as Armenoid.

c) Caucao-Iranian type is that still inhabiting the plateaus of Iran, a mixture of Iranian speaking people and aborigines related racially to Caucasians. Characterized by prominent nose, deep-set eyes, broad brow, long face; long torso and legs, white skin, wavy hair.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Collections*

- CAI = Chicago Art Institute.  
Eumo = Eumorfopoulos Collection, London.  
KCNG = Kansas City, Nelson Gallery.  
MAI = Minneapolis Art Institute.  
MFA = Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.  
MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
PUM = Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia.  
ROMA = Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, now Royal Ontario Museum.  
SAM = Seattle Art Museum.

### *Periodicals*

- BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.  
BMFEA = Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.  
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.  
HJAS = Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge.  
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.



## PREFACE

*On my first visit to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto as a student, I was enchanted by the vast collection of Chinese figurines, especially those of foreigners. Bishop William C. White, the Curator, encouraged me to undertake a monograph on the subject, and his successor, Miss Helen Fernald, gave her warm support when I returned to do my research. Mr. William Todd, Restorer, generously shared his technical knowledge.*

*Thanks to Scholarships and Fellowships, I have been able to visit the major collections of Chinese Art in Europe and Asia. The last research journey, in 1955-56, was made possible by the award of the Marion Talbot Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, with a supplementary Grant from the Asia Foundation. The Directors-General of Archaeology in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Ceylon, with their Directors, Curators, Regional Staffs, and Custodians were more than kind in their cooperation. The Directors, Curators and scholars in England, France, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Greece and Japan have been equally helpful when I have visited their countries. I am grateful to Dr. Jiro Harada, author of the Catalogue of the Imperial Shōsōin Collection, Japan, for the use of photographs.*

*In the United States I have had the privilege of working on materials in the storerooms of museums, as well those on display; for this I am particularly indebted to the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, The Chicago Art Institute, the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City, the Minneapolis Art Institute, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Philadelphia Art Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and the Seattle Art Museum. They, and the Royal Ontario Museum, have graciously given permission to print photographs that illustrate this monograph. My thanks go to them, and to all of the collections listed on page 158.*

*The Art Dealers of New York have been equally cooperative in bringing to my attention the figurines of unusual interest. Messrs. Chait, Cox, Komor and Yau, and Miss Alice Boney have invited me to examine their collections, and to use appropriate pieces for publication. I should like to pay tribute to that great friend of all students of Chinese Art, the late C. T. Loo, who played a unique role in the development and encouragement*



of knowledge of Oriental Art in the United States. His successor, Mr. Frank Caro, has continued the tradition established by Mr. Loo, and has never failed to offer his resources to me and to other scholars.

The research in historical and literary background was undertaken as part of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University. The splendid Library facilities, and the ready assistance of Librarians and their staffs, especially of the East Asiatic, the Avery Architectural, and Fine Arts divisions, were of prime importance in work of this nature. My Faculty colleagues, Dr. L. Carrington Goodrich, Dr. Karl Menges, Dr. Margarete Bieber, and Professor Wang Chi-chen, and others have been unstinting in their labors in my behalf; Drs. Goodrich and Menges gave invaluable guidance in the preparation of the monograph. My thanks go also to Drs. Osvald Sirén, Woodbridge Bingham, Alexander Soper, Richard Ettinghausen, John Pope, William B. Dinsmoor, and to Miss Pauline Simmons for suggestions, as well as to Mr. Laurence Sickman, Director of the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, and his assistant, Miss Jeanne Harris. Mrs. Lea Kisselgoff prepared a résumé of recent Russian reports for me; Mrs. Byrd Wise Hays drew the designs for fig. 13, and the lovely brush work of Miss Shao Fang serves as a foil to my own poor sketches of costume.

The monograph could not have been completed without the understanding support of my husband, Dr. Charles Henry Mahler, who helped with proofreading and was a stimulating companion on our several journeys.

I am honored that it appears as a part of the series of the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente*, directed by Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, and prepared by his staff under the kind supervision of Dr. Antonio Gargano.

As new material is excavated and published we may learn of different aspects of our subject that will confirm or invalidate the theories presented here. I hope that this initial offering may prove useful to collectors, amateurs, and students, and that it may further illumine a chapter in the history of Asia when men were free to roam the highways and wastelands that led eventually to the heart of China. The figurines, like the wanderers they represent, are always on the move. They have left their homeland in great numbers and are dispersed far and wide; it has not seemed wise, therefore, to cite private collections, though the T'ang terracottas are known and admired throughout the world.



## INTRODUCTION

In writing this study of the T'ang dynasty figurines of "Westerners" or "Hu (ch. 1) Barbarians," it has been my aim to recreate a picture of the secular life of that period as it was influenced by China's Western neighbors. The records of diplomatic, political and military affairs, and descriptions of places and people as given in the T'ang Annals have been used.<sup>1)</sup> Diaries and other first hand accounts written by people who lived in the period from A.D. 618 to 907, or thereabouts, have proved to be of great value, especially the *Hsi Yü Chi*, the Records of the Western Regions, and the descriptions written by the monk Hsüan-tsang, who travelled through Central Asia and India from 628 to 645.

Aside from these written accounts, I have turned to the art treasures of those remote days which have been unearthed by archaeologists and explorers. Thanks to the diggers and scholars of many lands, we have been able to examine contemporary sculpture and painting made in the very places where the "Barbarians" lived, which show us how they looked at that time; by comparing the small images made in China with these portraits, we have found it possible to offer identifications of numerous types.

Not only has it been my hope to present this material on identification, I have tried to suggest, as well, a systematic history of costume as related to the figurines, based on all that we know of the life of those times, and on archaeological data. This may enable us to establish a chronology for the figurines, and for other sculpture and undated painting.

In discussing the making of the small terra cottas as a folk art, it has been my purpose to stress the changes brought about by the contact of China with the West, especially with the art forms developed

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<sup>1)</sup> The Annals consist of the *Chiu T'ang Shu* which received its final formulation about A.D. 940, and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, a revised and supplemented edition of the previous work from the middle of the eleventh century, which has a more concise survey for the end of the T'ang.

Ch. I refers to Chinese Character List, p. 157.

in Greco-Buddhist Afghanistan and Northwest India. One can still see, in a place and time remote from Hellenistic spheres, a final impact of that art in China. Greece, Rome, Persia, India, Khorezmia, Bactria, Ferghāna, the steppes and the oases, all sent gifts to China, some of tangible "tribute" — fabrics, music, metals and precious stones; there were the intangibles, too, lofty ethical concepts, and magical hocus-pocus, ideas in the realm of art, and systems for searching out the stars — all of it changing Chinese life in some way, and most of it carried by the dauntless ones who crossed through Sinkiang to China.



## CHAPTER I.

### CHINA AND THE "WESTERN BARBARIANS"

China, under the T'ang emperors who ruled from A.D. 618 to 907, was a land of splendor and turmoil and far-reaching power. Japan, turning toward the civilization which formed the basis of her life and thought and growth for the following centuries, sent envoys, traders, priests and students; Northern Korea, a province of China in the Han period (202 B.C. to A.D. 9; A.D. 25 to 220) looked to her as a mother country; from Siberia and the oasis cities of Central Asia the chieftains of Turkic, Mongol and Tungusic tribes sent tribute or made alliances with the Sons of Heaven, and from Persia came teachers of new doctrines, ambassadors and finally, the last of the Sassanian princes seeking refuge. Traders from the Mediterranean came with packs on their backs; actors, acrobats and dancers followed the trading caravans from the Near East to the Far, and soldiers of fortune from all over Asia appeared at Ch'ang-an, the western capital, to join the Chinese forces. From Afghanistan and India many holy men made their way to China, bringing Buddhist scriptures to strengthen the power of the Buddha already established there, and bringing, too, magic herbs and charms to please courtiers and princes. From the south, Tibet and Annam sent representatives, and from the hills, dwarfs were taken from their families to go to Ch'ang-an to amuse the emperor and his court. China was indeed the Middle Kingdom, the heart of a dominant culture, the hub of a wheel from which spokes extended in many directions. At the height of her power, the empire touched the borders of India and Persia, and the influence of China was felt far beyond her political boundaries.

Opening her doors to so many foreigners, labelled "Barbarians" by the cultivated Chinese, wrought changes that affected much of T'ang life.

The chroniclers tell us that languages never before heard in China were common about the capital, and that one court secretary was so struck by the numbers of strange and outlandish costumes to be seen in Ch'ang-an that he obtained



T'ai-tsung's order that paintings should be made which should faithfully depict the scenes. The caravanserais were crowded with outlanders, and certain inns made specialties of the different national delicacies, that the Turkoman Khan might not be without his fat-tailed sheep and the Ambassador from Sinlo might feast on puppy meat.<sup>1)</sup>

Though these paintings have not come down to us, one can see the outlanders in many surviving works of art, even those intended for religious purposes, and some of the most delightful representations are to be found in the figurines associated with Chinese burial customs. Centuries before, in the Late Chou period (770 to 256 B.C.) it had become the established rule to place in the grave models of people and things beloved by the departed in his earthly existence. These "Ming-ch'i"<sup>2)</sup> of the T'ang period reflect the cosmopolitan character of Chinese life and taste. New ideas and new fashions were gladly accepted from the foreigners who thronged the streets, free to worship their own gods, and to follow their own folk ways. Western Asians, in particular, seem to have aroused local curiosity. They, the reasons for their being in China, and the changes resulting from their presence in the Middle Kingdom, form the basis of our study.

#### PRE-T'ANG HISTORY. THE NOMADS.

Having foreigners in China was not a new experience for the natives of the Middle Kingdom. Earlier, in the Han period, there had been constant pressure from the north and west by nomadic tribes against whom Chinese expeditions had been sent, and other troops had been moved beyond the southern border into Indo-China. It was in the

---

<sup>1)</sup> Warner, Langdon. "An Approach to Chinese Sculpture." In Hackin and others. *Chinese Art and some Indian Influences*. London, 1936, p. 49.

<sup>2)</sup> Ming ch'i (ch. 2), objects placed in the tomb for the use of the dead, include many articles other than figurines. The proper sense of Ming is "light, luminous, clear," but it is sometimes used in combination with other words which it qualifies; these expressions have to do with "that which is for the usage of the dead." Objects offered in sacrifice to the dead were also "Ming," as were offerings made to the ancestors — it is therefore associated with sacrifice and things sacred to the departed ones. It may denote "the spirits," and it may qualify objects not strictly for the dead, but having to do with funerary practice, such as mourning clothes. It has a sense, then, beyond "luminous," approaching "sacred to" and "divine." (See Maspero, H. "Le mot Ming." in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. CCXXIII, Oct.-Dec. 1933, p. 249 et seq.).



Han period, too, that the great silk trade with the Mediterranean world had reached its height which brought foreign merchants and traders as well as soldiers and hostages to mingle with the Sons of Han.

*Trade with Rome, and a Roman Account of North China.* — Silk was a luxury and a necessity to the Romans. Men risked their lives by land and sea to carry the precious materials to them, materials which were, at that time, to be procured only in China. From the early days of the Roman Empire Mediterranean adventurers, called Romans as members of the empire but Greek or Semitic in origin, had left their native lands, or their adopted countries of Syria or Egypt, to go by way of India using the sea route, or by land across Asia, to seek the precious fabrics. The Parthians and other middlemen profited enormously from the overland trade, stopping caravans from China to collect a tariff as goods went toward the Mediterranean, or collecting from the "Romans" as trade went East toward China — a system so satisfactory to these middlemen that Chinese (men of Sin or Serica to the Romans) and Romans (men of Ta Ts'in to the Chinese) had little direct contact with each other.

This flourishing trade might have continued into the seventh century to add to the color and bustle of the T'ang capital at Ch'ang-an, but for the loss of the monopoly of silk manufacture by the Chinese. Though the once great trade had ceased, we learn from records of the Byzantines (or Eastern Romans) and the Chinese that they still had some knowledge of each other. There was a Greek notice of China in the History of Theophylactus Simocatta, a Byzantine writer of the early part of the seventh century A.D. (in the reign of Maurice, A.D. 582 to 602) who said:

There is a great state and people called Thaugast, famous over the East, originally a colony of the Turkish race, now forming a nation scarcely to be paralleled on the face of the earth for power and population . . . The ruler of the land of Taugas is called Taisan, which signifies, when translated, the "Son of God" . . . There is a law binding on these people which prohibits men from ever wearing ornaments of gold, though they derive great wealth in gold and silver from their commerce, which is both large and lucrative. The territory is divided in two by a river, which in time past formed the boundary between two very great nations which were at war with one another. These nations were distinguished from one another by their dress, the one wearing clothes dyed black, the other, red . . . In this city of Taugas the king's women go forth in chariots made of gold, and one ox to draw them, and they are decked out most gorgeously with gold and jewels of great price, and the bridles of the oxen are gilt. He



who has sovereignty hath 700 concubines. The women of the chief nobles of the Taugas use silver chariots . . . When the prince dies he is mourned by his women for the rest of their lives, with shaven heads and black raiment.<sup>1)</sup>

*The T'o-pa Wei Invaders.* — Consulting Chinese histories of the same period, Peter Boodberg<sup>2)</sup> gives an explanation of this which seems entirely reasonable — that in the periods following the Han there was disruption, and invasion of northern China by Tatar groups, who established their own kingdoms from A.D. 420 to 589, the Six Dynasties period of Chinese chronology. He points out that the Western Wei wore black military uniforms, as did the Northern Chou who supplanted them in the sixth century, while the Eastern Wei wore yellow before they succumbed to the Northern Ch'i, who wore red. The histories of the northern dynasties indicate that black and red, of at least two different shades, were the official colors of the uniforms of the two northern states of Chou and Ch'i, successors, respectively, of the Western and Eastern Wei in the sixth century. The river referred to must be the Yellow River. A ruler of Ch'i, Kao Chan, had 700 ladies in A.D. 565; the ladies did indeed ride in chariots decorated with gold (gilding or inlay); in fact, from earlier times the type of vehicle to be used by different ranks had been minutely described, with definite gradations of decoration and use of metal allowed according to social position. The prohibition of gold personal ornaments for men may have come under Chou Hsuan-ti who was puritanical, never wore gold or jewelry, and ordered the destruction of many elaborate palaces and buildings in the conquered Ch'i territory. The mourning women with their heads shaven might indicate that widowed concubines had gone into Buddhist monasteries, had taken vows, and wore black garb.

Thaugast has been explained as indicating the Ta-göei, great Wei, dynasty which was established by the T'o-pa Tatars in north China, those ardent Buddhists who were responsible for the magnificent sculpture of Yün-kang and Lung-mên. When the native Chinese dynasty had withdrawn to the south and ruled from Nanking, their former subjects in the north began the slow — and usually sure — process of absorbing the invaders into the ways of Chinese life, law and speech. It was a process which had gone on earlier in Han times when the Huns

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<sup>1)</sup> Yule, Sir Henry, (Cordier, H., ed.) *Cathay and the Way Thither*. London, 1915, p. 29.

<sup>2)</sup> Boodberg, P. "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties." HJAS, 1938, vol. III, no. 1, p. 223 ff.



of the Hsiung-nu hordes had been allowed as auxiliaries inside the Great Wall in the third century A.D., and had proceeded to overrun cities and provinces until A.D. 369 when they, in turn, were replaced by Tatars. In the second decade of the third century there had appeared in the northern marches of Shansi province a little tribe of nomads who were scarcely noticed by the Chinese. At first they formed a part of the great Hsien-pi confederation, and were a part, also, of the great movement of the "Barbarians" half a century later. They increased in power, and achieved supremacy over the entire North China by A.D. 450. Their name, T'o-pa, was associated with the way they wore their hair which was braided or tied in a knot. Their vocabulary was essentially Mongol with an admixture of Turkic elements.<sup>1)</sup>

Buddhist Art of the Wei. — In the second century A.D., in the reign of King Kaniska of the Kushans who was an ardent Buddhist, missionaries went into Central Asia in great number, and it was then, perhaps, that the T'o-pas were converted to Buddhism. Though the followers of the Buddha had reached China by the Han period, the life of the average Chinese had not been much affected by this foreign religion until the Tatars settled in Shansi and Honan provinces. There, and in Tun-huang in the northwest, local people were forced by their overlords to help in the construction and decoration of cave-temples which were dedicated to the Buddha. These were filled with images based on ideas and instructions brought from India and Central Asia. Thus the northern Chinese of the Six Dynasties period were rubbing elbows with people of foreign blood, proto-Mongol in origin, and they were helping to carve and paint memorial slabs, caves filled with figures of the Buddha and the countless secondary beings of the Buddhist pantheon, and helping to cast metal icons, all based on Indian models or Central Asian variants of those models. The famous art of the Yün-kang, Lung-mên, and Tun-huang caves resulted.

Though the deities were designed according to traditional formulae, the donors and patrons who caused the carving to be done were included in the decorative scheme, and they, of course, were drawn from everyday life. In the Yün-kang caves in Shansi they look like "Barbarians" (Fig. 3), and they wear clothes different from the traditional flowing robe with wide sleeves worn by the Han Chinese (Plate I). In the Lung-mên caves, started after A.D. 494 when the

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<sup>1)</sup> Boodberg, P. "The Language of the T'o-pa Wei." In the HJAS, 1936, vol. I, pp. 167-85.



Wei capital was moved south from Ta-t'ung to Lo-yang in Honan province, we find that Chinese fashion has become dominant.<sup>1)</sup> In fact all the figures, even those of the major deities, look more Chinese — Buddhism and Chinese culture were becoming reconciled to each other. This had taken place by A.D. 534, for by that time the T'o-pa kingdom had become fully Chinese.

The Wei acted as buffers to the nomadic tribes still crowding the northern frontiers. By A.D. 450 T'o-pa Tao pushed the Juan-juan into the Gobi desert, and made such an impression of power on the inhabitants of the oasis cities in Central Asia that he received homage from the kingdoms of Turfān, Qarashahr, Kuchā, and Kashghār.<sup>2)</sup> This success re-established communications between China and the West; again traders came in caravans, soldiers from foreign lands were seen on the streets, and Buddhist pilgrims made their way from China to India, or from India and Central Asia into China. (See Appendix I on the Travelers).

Then came the unification of the north and south under the Sui Dynasty in 589. Many northerners, although they bore old Chinese names, were now of a mixed blood. The coming of hordes of "barbarian" nomads into that area during the preceding centuries had produced leaders who were not pure Chinese in the sense that the southerners were.<sup>3)</sup>

*Chinese Expansion Under Sui Rule.* — Under this new dynasty a policy of expansion was initiated which was continued and enlarged by the T'ang rulers. We have already stressed the importance of Sino-Japanese relations from this time on, which meant an active sea traffic to the East. Military expeditions to the Liu-Ch'iu Islands and Indo-China were sent out, bringing home prisoners of war, and awakening the Chinese interest in things beyond her own borders. To the west, through Turkestan, envoys were sent to further trade, report on conditions, note geography and local customs, and to persuade lesser potentates to send tribute to China. Their reports were enthusiastic, and their missions successful, for the heads of twenty-

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<sup>1)</sup> See University Prints 149, Empress' Procession, now in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, and Emperor's Procession, Metropolitan Museum. Cf. Sickman, L. *The University Prints*. Series O, sect. II, China, plate 149. Newton, Mass., 1938.

<sup>2)</sup> Grousset, R. *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*. Paris, 1929. p. 253.

<sup>3)</sup> Bingham, W. *The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty — The Fall of the Sui and the Rise of The T'ang*. Baltimore, 1941. p. 4.



nine states were received by the emperor in 609, to be entertained, and to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty.

This marked the beginning of Chinese expansion into Central Asia, with the setting up of military garrisons, and administrative subdivisions.

Foreigners came to the Eastern Capital and were dazzled by the imperial splendor; an orchestra of girls was sent from Kuchā, twenty in number, who played upon the harp, guitar, shēng, flutes, whistles, drums and cymbals.<sup>1)</sup> Even the nomadic Turks were so impressed by China's prestige that the Khan of the Western group appeared with some 10,000 men in 612 to be received with honor by Emperor Yang-ti; they joined him in his Korean campaign and acquitted themselves well.<sup>2)</sup>

The Turks had been split into two separate Khanates since 582, the Northern or Eastern centered on the Orkhon, and the Western which extended from Turfān to Merv; the latter horde had been torn by internal dissension which was encouraged by the Chinese, for it allowed them to take over a great part of the Turkish dominion. Soon Ferghāna and Bactria came under Chinese power, and the Kings of Samarkand received investiture from the Son of Heaven. The great rival empire of the Near East, the Sassanid of Persia, was exhausted by a long war with the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire which had, under Constantine, been established with its capital in Constantinople. From the fourth century on this Byzantine power, both Christian and Greek in character, had played a dominant role in Western Asia. In the Chinese annals Syria is referred to as a part of the empire, better known than other countries comprising Byzantium because her cities and ports were linked thro the caravan routes that crossed Afghanistan and joined the old silk roads to the East.

#### EARLY T'ANG PERIOD.

*Traders from the Mediterranean Area.* — According to Chinese history, the Eastern Romans sent several embassies during the T'ang period.

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<sup>1)</sup> Goodrich, L. C., and Ch'ü T'ung-tsu. "Foreign Music at the Court of Sui Wên-ti." In JAOS, July-Sept. 1949, p. 148.

<sup>2)</sup> Bingham. Op. cit., p. 24-38.



The Emperor T'ai-tsung (627 to 650) . . . Received an embassy in 643 from King Po-to-li of Fu-lin (the name for Rome [Byzantium] now used instead of Ta Ts'in) bringing a rich present. The *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History) mentions further embassies from Fu-lin in 667, 711, 719, and in 742 a mission composed of "priests of great virtue" . . . There is no trace in extant Byzantine historical sources of any of the Embassies alleged from the Chinese side, and this may seem to show that the so-called embassies were really parties of merchants posing as diplomatic envoys in order to improve their chances of doing business in China, and were accepted as such by the Chinese court, which, for the sake of its prestige, always welcomed "tribute bearing" missions from remote countries.<sup>1)</sup>

Semites. — As we come into the T'ang period, we find that foreigners were so much a part of the life of the times that their images were often included among the figurines placed in countless graves. A tomb retinue might consist of animals, deities, soldiers, servants and people from "Rome" and other Mediterranean areas as well as Hindus, Turks and *Hu* (westerners) in general. A very striking type of merchant is the Semite, with his hooked nose and a pack on his back (Plate II). Concerning the Jews, Bishop White says:

Among the traders there must have been men of the Israelitish faith, and here and there in the larger trading centers along the caravan routes there would be large and important groups of such traders, to such an extent as to make it advisable for them to maintain their synagogical worship under religious leaders. This is borne out by the fact that references to Jews are found to a limited extent in Chinese writings, as well as by the clay figurines used for tomb burial.<sup>2)</sup>

In the same connection White quotes from A. H. Godbey's *The Lost Tribes a Myth*:

Two Jewish fragments already illustrate the significance of Chinese Turkestan for Judaism. Sir Aurel Stein found at Dandanuiliq . . . a Persian business letter written in square Hebrew characters. Professor Margoliouth dates it A. D. 708. It proves that the Jewish trader spoke Persian, and that he was probably a Judaized Persian; that his correspondent used the same language . . . It suggests that we may find much Jewish material in the tons of records recovered at Khocho . . . The other ms. came from Tun-huang, found by Paul Pelliot. M. Schwab, who published it, dates it also in the eighth century . . . It is written on paper, which, at that date, was made only in China. This old junk-heap, therefore, tells us that Jewish merchants from China were using that caravan route then.<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Hudson, G. F. *Europe and China*. London, 1931. p. 29-30.

<sup>2)</sup> White, W. C. *Chinese Jews*. Toronto, 1942. Part. I, p. 10.

<sup>3)</sup> White, W. C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 136.



Sauvaget<sup>1)</sup> recalls that in the ninth century the Jews of Narbonne had reached Sind, India and China.

Armenoids. — Another striking figurine (Plate III *a*) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is called by Mr. Tomita<sup>2)</sup> an Armenoid, basing his identification on L. H. Buxton's *The Peoples of Asia*.<sup>3)</sup> Buxton emphasizes the difficulty in distinguishing between modern Armenians, Arabs, and Jews, but von Luschan<sup>4)</sup> notes that the Armenoid characteristics have hardly changed during millennia, dating back to the times of the Hittites, whose skulls are almost identical with those of modern Armenians. Their large eyes and powerful noses were praised in ancient poetry, the nose being compared to a tower in the Lebanon mountains looking toward Damascus;<sup>5)</sup> their heavy eyebrows meeting over the bridge of the nose is characteristic, and von Luschan also noted the curved nose, and curving lines of the face which reminded him of a bird of prey. Mr. Tomita's classification seems to be an accurate one which may be followed in the identification of figurines of wine-sellers in the Seattle and Toronto museums as well as the one in Boston (Plate III *c* and *e*).

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<sup>1)</sup> Sauvaget, J. *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*. Paris, 1948. Introduction p. xxxviii.

<sup>2)</sup> Tomita, K. "Three Chinese Pottery Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty." Bull. of Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. vol. XLII, Dec. 1944, p. 64-67.

<sup>3)</sup> "It is clear that there is a marked resemblance between Jews and Armenians and, though the Armenoid type perhaps predominates there are clearly other elements in the composition of the Jewish race." On page 99 he continues: "The term Semite has often been used in a racial as well as in a linguistic sense, and perhaps even more than in the case of the much abused term Aryan; it is sometimes used to mean Jews, sometimes Arabs, and sometimes in the much wider sense to signify those who speak Semitic languages. In other cases it is used in the semi-racial sense to mean descendants of the Arab conquerors who spread over North Africa in the Year of the Elephant (A.D. 570)\* and later. I have met men who claimed to be Arabs who were certainly of stocks closely allied to those of Europe, other again who were almost pure Negroes; others were, for the most part, Malays, and some presented to the outward gaze little difference from the Chinese. All of them spoke Semitic languages. A term, therefore, with so wide a connotation cannot be conveniently used for racial distinctions when we are dealing with race from the purely physical." Buxton, L. H. *The Peoples of Asia*. New York, 1925. p. 97.

<sup>4)</sup> von Luschan, Felix. *Volker, Rassen, Sprachen*. Berlin, 1922. p. 142-48, and pls. 11 and 14.

<sup>5)</sup> See Song of Solomon, Old Testament, 7: 4.

\* This is incorrect; the year 570 marked an invasion of Mecca by Abyssinian Christians; it was not until 639-40 that Arabs invaded North Africa.



*Persians.* — In the south there was a great emporium on the Grand Canal at Yang-chou, some fifteen kilometers north of its junction with the Yangtse River, an Arab-Persian trading center.<sup>1)</sup> The *Hsin T'ang Shu* (New T'ang History)<sup>2)</sup> indicates that in the year 760 several thousand Arab and Persian traders were killed in the local disturbance at Yang-chou. It is evident that the lower Yangtse was used by traders from southern and western Asia as a route into China, at least intermittently if not continuously, during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. Extensive trade was carried on between China and Korea, and China and Japan; sea lanes were busy to the East in the T'ang period.<sup>3)</sup> Since it is difficult to distinguish Koreans and Japanese from native Chinese types, we do not find among the figurines any that can be safely assigned to these nationalities.

As for the Persians, whose distinctive dress in the Sassanian period became the fashion in places as far apart as Dura Europos, Afghanistan, and Kuchā, we know that they played an important role in trade, and that the influence of their culture was a dominant factor in Western Asiatic development. In distant Japan, one of the close circle of the distinguished Buddhist monk Chien-chen (Ganshin or Ganjin in Japanese history) was a Persian doctor.<sup>4)</sup> In China, too, they arrived in sufficient numbers to have been noted in the histories and in more purely literary writing. In the *Miscellanea of I-shan*, for instance,<sup>5)</sup> the first "Incongruity" is listed as "a poor Persian."

Some of the wealth was derived from the flourishing cosmetic trade. We learn<sup>6)</sup> that the henna flower, or "finger nail flower" was brought to China by the Persians, as was eyebrow blacking, which had been popular from the Sui period on. Under the rule of Yang-ti, the palace women vied with each other in painting on long eyebrows. An officer in charge daily issued two pints of black which came from Persia,<sup>7)</sup> which would indicate imperial encouragement of the fashion.

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<sup>1)</sup> Reischauer, E. O. "Notes on the T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes." *HJAS*, 1940, vol. 5, p. 142-164.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143, note 3.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144, and Reischauer, E. O., *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*. New York, 1955, p. 42-47.

<sup>4)</sup> Takakusu, J. "Le Voyage de Ganshin." *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, 1928-29, p. 4.

<sup>5)</sup> *I-shan tsa tsuan* by Li Shang-yin, A.D. 813-858, p. 127, from Edwards, E.D. *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period*. London, 1937-38, I, p. 129.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.



The indigo from which it was made was actually the product of India, Laufer thought.<sup>1)</sup>

Diplomatic Relations with Sassanians. — Ambassadors had been exchanged between China and Persia for several centuries, but in 638 one arrived at Ch'ang-an in especial haste, urgently petitioning the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung to give aid to Yezdegerd III, the Sassanian monarch, against the Arabs. Help was refused, and the Persian ruler was killed. In 674, after the Arabs had taken Ferheng, Firuz (Peroz) the son of Yezdegerd, appeared in the Western Capital where he took up residence and was appointed a general in the guard by the Emperor. He was given permission to build a Persian temple there but lived only a short time to worship in it.

Drake, after examining divergent accounts<sup>2)</sup>, concludes that

Firuz, son of Yezdegerd, called by the Chinese Pei-lu-ssu, had fled to Tocharistan (Bactria). Then, according to the New T'ang History, he sent an embassy to China appealing for help, but the emperor Kao-tsung (A.D. 650 to 683) considered the distance too great to send a force to help him. The Old T'ang History omits the first embassy, but both histories agree that in A.D. 661 he sent an appeal for help against the Arabs. This time advantage was taken on the fact that a Chinese officer was being sent to the Western Regions to include Firuz in the scheme as Governor-General of Persia. The plan was ineffective, however, and during the period from 670 to 673 Firuz himself came to China. The emperor gave him a command in the army, and he was allowed to build the Persian temple in Chang-an in A.D. 677.

The Old T'ang History says that in the year 678 the emperor sent out a force to re-install Firuz as king of Persia, but the officer in charge, fearing the length of the journey, went only as far as Kuchā and turned back, leaving Firuz to proceed alone. Firuz was unsuccessful and took refuge in Tocharistan for more than 20 years, with several thousand Persians. These gradually dispersed, and in 708 he again came to the Chinese court, where he received the title of military Officer of the Left. The New T'ang History says that all of this refers to Narses (Ni-nieh-shih), who had been living at the Chinese court as a hostage, rather than to Firuz, and appears to be right.

From the point of view of their respective ages (Firuz would have been too elderly if his father had been killed seventy years before) this conclusion is more probable.

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<sup>1)</sup> Laufer, B. *Sino-Iranica*. Field Museum of Natural History, no. 201, Anthropological series. Vol. XV, no. 3, Chicago, 1919, p. 371. "It is singular that the Chinese at one time imported indigo from Persia, where it was doubtless derived from India, and do not refer to India as the principal indigo-producing country."

<sup>2)</sup> Drake, F. S. "Mohammedanism in the T'ang Dynasty." In *Monumenta Serica*, VIII. Peking, 1943. p. 1-8.



The Persians were Zoroastrians, followers of a form of religion which had arisen about 600 B.C. on the Iranian plateau. The Chinese called it the "Hsien" religion, and referred to the God of Light as "Heaven-God," "Foreign Heaven God," and "Fire God." They knew that he was worshipped not only in Persia, but also in K'ang (Samarkand), An (Bokhārā), Ts'ao (Khojent), Shih (Tashkent), Mi (Maimargh), Shu-le (Kashghār), Yu-t'ien (Khotan), and I-chou (Hami).<sup>1)</sup>

Persian Religious Practice in China. — This religion seems to have reached some eminence in China in the Northern Wei period; there is a reference to it in the reign of the Empress Ling (Ling T'ai-hou, A.D. 516 to 527) who abolished irregular religious rites but did not abolish those of the Foreign God of Heaven which implied some kind of recognition by the state.<sup>2)</sup> Another notice, in 576, records that Hou Chou of the Northern Ch'i worshipped the Heaven God with ritual dancing, and that these irregular rites were practised in his capital, Yeh (modern Lin-chang in Honan). Sovereigns of the Northern Chou, in order to attract people from the Western Regions, also regularized the worship of the "Foreign Heaven God," the emperors themselves participating in it, but, since the rites were in accordance with foreign customs, they were not regarded as irregular. By the Sui period (A.D. 589 to 617) government officials ("Sa-pao") were appointed to control the affairs of the religion — as they were appointed to control foreigners and all ceremonies connected with them, and the same practice continued into the T'ang, when we find the "Sa-pao" among other officials in the lists. At that early date, then, the Chinese permitted a sort of extra-territoriality — foreigners were appointed to look after their own people, and supervise their ceremonies.

There were numerous shrines in the capitals (and they are referred to as shrines, never as monasteries as in the case of Nestorians and Buddhists) five in Ch'ang-an, and three in Lo-yang, as well as one at Liang-chou, one at Cha-chou and one at Tun-huang and "in all provinces west of the desert."<sup>3)</sup> These were for use of foreigners residing there, for the Chinese were forbidden to take part in the ceremonies — another part of the policy of the T'ang to make foreigners feel at home in China. It was recorded that, "In the shrines there

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<sup>1)</sup> Drake, F. S. "Foreign Relations of the T'ang Dynasty." In the Chinese Recorder, June 1940, vol. LXXXI, no. 6, Shanghai, p. 347-8.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 349 et seq.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., p. 352.



was no image, but a small room facing west, while the worshippers face east; it is said that worship is paid to heaven and earth, sun and moon, water and fire, and details of the cleansing rites are given. <sup>1)</sup>

Though this was not a proselytising religious group, differing from Christianity and Manichaeism in that respect, the members suffered with other foreigners in the proscription of 845; the Magians of the Zoroastrians were sent back to lay life. The estimated number of them varies in different accounts from 3,000 to 2,000, even to as few as sixty. <sup>2)</sup>

There is, besides the evidence in Chinese texts, the testimony of excavations in Central Asia pointing to extensive Persian influence on the way to China. Von Le Coq, between 1904 and 1914, found domed Persian buildings, Persian coins, manuscripts, and frescoes showing Persian portraits among the ruined temples and settlements at Turfān, Qarashahr, Qizil and Kuchā. <sup>3)</sup> Russian reports indicate that Sogdiana played an important role in this expansion eastward. <sup>4)</sup>

The Persian People. — Though Sassanian Persia exerted such a strong influence on Central Asia and China, the account of that western land in the T'ang history is not entirely trustworthy, lending itself more to picturesqueness than accuracy. As Chavannes tells about it, in his account based on the T'ang annals,

Po-se is situated to the west of the Tigris river . . . The people sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the sun and moon, to water and fire. On the evening of the days of sacrifice they anoint the beard, forehead, nose and ears . . . They are in the habit of walking barefoot; men cut their hair, their robes are made in one piece and do not cross in front; they made headcoverings and skirts of green and white which they border with variegated silks. The women braid their hair and wear it in the back. In warfare they mount elephants; for each elephant there are 100 warriors; all who are conquered are put to death. To judge the guilty written texts are not used; sentences are given by a tribunal; in a case of rebellion, the tongue is burned with hot metal — if the wound is white, the man is innocent, if it is black, he is guilty. Punishments consist of shaving the head . . . cutting off the feet and the nose; for the least offence they cut off the beard of the guilty or put a yoke around his neck for months

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 354.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*. London, 1928. p. 83, 97, 100, 124, 142; and Soper, A. "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia". In *Art Bulletin*, vol. XXIX, Dec. 1947, p. 225-248.

<sup>4)</sup> Zhivopis drevnego Piandzhikenta. Akademia Nauk SSSR. Moscow, 1954. Institut Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.



at a time, or seasons; brigands are punished by life imprisonment; thieves are fined. Everyone who dies is abandoned in the mountains; mourning clothes are worn for longer than a month. The climate is constantly hot; the land is unified and flat; the people busy themselves with their tasks and farming. There are vultures which can devour sheep; there are many excellent dogs, donkeys, and mules . . . <sup>1)</sup>

As described in their own Zend Āvestā, the physical characteristics of the Persians are said to be:

Tall in stature, slender in form, strong, able, clear-eyed, having small heels, long arms and handsome calves. In women, beauty and elegance of figure are most conspicuous. Symmetry of shape, a slender waist and large full eyes . . . are principal maidenly beauties . . . also, a light complexion, especially about the arms, small slender fingers and a well-formed bosom. <sup>2)</sup>

Geiger describes the present descendants as being:

Men of middle, often high stature, strongly built, broad and well developed chests.. large shining eyes . . . beards of luxuriant growth. The majority of the people have dark brown hair, but light brown and red <sup>3)</sup> are not uncommon . . . The form of the face is oval; the nose, mouth, and forehead and the extremities, hands and feet are well shaped. <sup>4)</sup>

In the stone reliefs of Persepolis carved in the fifth century B.C. the Achaemenid Persians are depicted as being of just that appearance, <sup>5)</sup> and the men, even then, wear the round-necked tunic which reached to the knees, and a loose fitting coat hung around the shoulders like a cape, with sleeves limp and long. <sup>6)</sup> The characteristic high peaked hat was used then, too, the peak flopping forward, as we see in a small metal figurine. <sup>7)</sup> Women of those days wore long pleated skirts, waists with tight sleeves, and a long scarf draped over the head, to judge by two on horseback in a stone relief. <sup>8)</sup>

These styles were continued in the Sassanian period. In rock sculpture and on metal bowls and plates the ruler and courtiers were

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes, E. *Documents sur Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*. St. Petersburg, 1903; and the Paris reprint including the Notes Additionnelles, no date; p. 170-1, printed originally in the T'oung Pao, 1904, v. V. p. 1-110, Hereafter referred to as Documents.

<sup>2)</sup> From the Āvestā as quoted in Geiger, W. *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*. London, 1885. p. 51-2.

<sup>3)</sup> Dr. Karl Menges differs from Geiger; he thinks that red is uncommon.

<sup>4)</sup> Geiger. Op. cit.

<sup>5)</sup> Sarre, F. *L'Art de la Perse ancienne*. Paris, 1921, pl. 26.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid., pl. 25.

<sup>7)</sup> Ibid., pls. 42-43.

<sup>8)</sup> Ibid., p. 30.



shown,<sup>1)</sup> while some women making offerings are to be seen in the Survey,<sup>2)</sup> and in Sarre;<sup>3)</sup> a king and his lady ornament a bowl in the Walters Collection in Baltimore (Plate IV), which is placed in the fifth century A.D. by Richard Ettinghausen, who calls it the monarch Yezdegerd II (438 to 457), rather than Bahram Gur as it is identified in the text of the Survey.<sup>4)</sup> They were carved in rock-cut reliefs by their contemporaries,<sup>5)</sup> and on seals,<sup>6)</sup> and their likenesses were struck on coins.<sup>7)</sup> The physical type is still characterized by the prominent nose, deepset, piercing eyes, curly hair, and a general haughtiness of bearing.<sup>8)</sup>

The round-necked tunic opened down the front, and was embellished by a border of brocade or embroidery both on the neck and down the length of the tunic to the hem. When the neck was opened out to form two lapels the ornamental facings could be seen; these often matched the cuffs of the tight sleeves and a wide band of brocade or embroidery which stiffened the hem. A wide belt was worn at the waist line where both tunic and belt were pulled tight; from the belt hung straps used for suspending sword and dagger.<sup>9)</sup> Tight-fitting trousers were tucked into pointed knee-high boots, or covered by "chaps" when a cavalier was out hunting. This last feature is to be seen in earlier Parthian dress,<sup>10)</sup> and later in China, where it was worn by porters,<sup>11)</sup> grooms (Plate V a) and even a Semitic traveler (Plate V b). Most of the Sassanian illustrations deal with the nobility whose clothes were cut from the famous fabrics manufactured in Persia, materials so much admired that they were carried to China and Japan,

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<sup>1)</sup> Pope, A. U., ed. *The Survey of Persian Art*. New York, 1938-39, vol. IV, pls. 160, 166, 209-214; 239 A; and Orbeli, J. and Trever, C. *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*. 'Academa,' Moscow and Leningrad, 1935.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., pl. 233 A.

<sup>3)</sup> Sarre. Op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>4)</sup> Pope. Op. cit., p. 730-31; pl. 230 A in vol. IV.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid., pl. 163 A & B, 162; and Sarre. Op. cit., pls. 86-9.

<sup>6)</sup> Pope. Op. cit., pl. 256.

<sup>7)</sup> Ibid., vol. IV, pls. 253-6; and Babelon, J. "L'art monétaire sassanide." In the *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*. Paris, vol. XII, 1938, pl. XXIX.

<sup>8)</sup> Lamb. H. "Mountain Tribes of Iran and Iraq." In *National Geographic Magazine*, March, 1946, p. 385-408.

<sup>9)</sup> Pope. Op. cit., pl. 166.

<sup>10)</sup> Godard, A. "Parthian Statues of Shami." In *Athar e Iran*, 1937, n. 2, p. 285-305; and Sarre. Op. cit., pl. 54.

<sup>11)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *Serindia*. London, 1921, vol. IV, pl. LXXIV.



perhaps copied there and in Samarkand, <sup>1)</sup> just as they were exported into Europe and imitated.

Influence of Persian Fashion on Chinese Dress and Chinese Life. — Among the figurines placed in Chinese graves there are none that wear such splendid garments as the Persian nobles, though they had been portrayed by the painters of Tun-huang murals in the Six Dynasties period. <sup>2)</sup> The nearest in elegance and style among the figurines are the gentlemen of the hunt, or falconers (Plate VI) whose coats have the starched lapels, and whose figures are as svelte as the Sassanians', though most of them are Turkic rather than Iranian in race. Great numbers of other figurines wear clothes which bear testimony to Persian influence, for they, too, have the tunics, lapels and similar belts, and they wear the boot of the Near East, but they are laborers and menials, not aristocrats, and their clothes hang in baggy folds, wrinkled and workworn. Most of them represent stable-men and grooms sent with the horses from the West, men of different racial types who nevertheless dress in East Iranian fashion. The horses, too, were decked out in the Persian style, with mane ornaments, tassels, and palmettes like Sassanian mounts. <sup>3)</sup> In warfare the Chinese made use of chain-mail, another importation from Persia.

Sassanian women also wore tunics with round necks and long, tight sleeves; a full pleated skirt reached the ankles <sup>4)</sup> — this I find more common than the trousers mentioned in the text of the Survey. <sup>5)</sup> The long scarf, or stōle, had been retained from the Achaemenid days and was still used in the 'Abbasid period (750 to 900) in Samarra. <sup>6)</sup> It became the fashion all over Central Asia as well as in China in the seventh and eighth centuries (Plate VIII and see also section on costume, page 108). Even earlier, in the Six Dynasties period, there is evidence of Persian influence in North China in

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<sup>1)</sup> Simmons, P. *Chinese Patterned Silks*. New York, 1948: Pope. *Survey*. Op. cit., vol. IV, pls. 198-202; *Serindia*. Op. cit., vol. IV, pl. CVI, CXI, CXII, CXIII, CXVI.

<sup>2)</sup> Pelliot, P. *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*. Paris, 1922-24, vol. IV, pl. CCLII, from cave 120 N.

<sup>3)</sup> Pope, Op. cit., pl. 211 and 214 of bowls of the fourth and seventh centuries; p. 176 of a stucco.

<sup>4)</sup> Rowland, B., Jr. *Wall Paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon*. Boston, 1938. pl. 18.

<sup>5)</sup> Pope. *Survey*. vol. III, p. 2232.

<sup>6)</sup> Herzfeld, E. *Die Malereien von Samarra*. Berlin, 1927. pl. II.



a stele, dated 457,<sup>1)</sup> in which the mother of the Buddha is shown at the moment of the birth as she touches the branch of the tree, and the miraculous infant issues from her right side. Like the donors of the Yün-kang cave (fig. 3), though they are secular rather than religious images, she wears the tight-sleeved tunic and long pleated skirt of the Near East which had apparently been adopted by the Wei ladies, and by some Koreans.<sup>2)</sup>

Though this type of dress did not change Chinese fashion at the time (and it is unlikely that it would, for the native population probably had little regard for what they must have thought of as the inferior Barbarian styles of the conquerors), it did return later. In the Sui and early T'ang periods, thanks to direct contact with Persia and Kuchā, large numbers of courtiers and entertainers entering China from the West brought in the mode of the tight sleeves and pleated skirt. Graceful and exotic as the foreigners were with their painted faces and their form-fitting dresses, they succeeded where the Barbarians had failed, and won the Chinese approval of gowns entirely different from the flowing robes of the past. Even the sedate Annals note the importation of these entertainers: in the K'ai-yüan and T'ien-pao eras (713 to 755), Persia had sent ten embassies bearing gifts, among them a bed of agate, troops of dancing girls, and "Woolen embroideries the color of fire,"<sup>3)</sup> the last item being interpreted by Laufer as being asbestos.<sup>4)</sup> From Sogdiana and Ferghāna were sent coats of mail, cups of rock crystal, an agate bottle, ostrich eggs, dwarfs, and dancing girls,<sup>5)</sup> while from Mi (Maimargh) came precious rings, lions, mats, and dancers,<sup>6)</sup> and the prince of Kesch sent dancing girls, and a spotted leopard.<sup>7)</sup> The Turkish king of Chūmi (in Tocharistan) sent dancing girls and horses<sup>8)</sup> and the king of Khottal sent a girl orchestra.<sup>9)</sup> Since Persia was the fashion center for most of Western Asia<sup>10)</sup> we may therefore suppose that these dancers from Iran and neighbor-

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<sup>1)</sup> Sirén, O. *Chinese Sculpture*. New York, 1925. vol. II, pl. 117.

<sup>2)</sup> Eckhardt, A. *History of Korean Art*. London, 1928, pl. I.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>4)</sup> Laufer. *Op. cit.*, p. 499.

<sup>5)</sup> Chavannes. *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146-7.

<sup>8)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>9)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>10)</sup> Hackin, J. and others. *Studies in Chinese Art and Some Indian Influences*. London, 1936, p. 5-13.



ing areas who were attached to the court of Ming-huang wore costumes which influenced some of the Chinese ladies to give up their beloved "wide sleeves," though they were none the less celebrated in an eighth century poem by the emperor's favorite, Yang Kuei-fei:

Net sleeves moving,  
Incense, incense, without ceasing,  
Red water-lilies waving in the  
autumn mist,  
Light clouds on the mountains  
Suddenly agitate the breeze  
Delicate willows beside the pool are  
first to brush the water.

(Translation courtesy of L. C. Goodrich)

The Chinese, needing the more flowing sleeve for full grace, significance, and beauty in their posture dances, added a wide pleated cuff to the tight "Western" style (Plate VII), though Chinese musicians wore the closefitting sleeve, similar to those of the orchestra girls in the famous hunt of the Persian Chosroes II, carved in the rock of Taqi-Bustan.<sup>1)</sup> There are no dancers or musicians among the figurines who have the prominent noses and deep-set eyes of Iranians, but the girls from Persia and nearby countries must have been a colorful part of the life of T'ang times.<sup>2)</sup>

The change in fashion and deportment in seventh and eighth century China, due to this "Western Invasion," was so marked that it brought protests from conservative dignitaries, and comments in the T'ang annals. Hsiang Ta, in his description of Ch'ang-an drawn from the literature of the time,<sup>3)</sup> quotes from the Old Tang History in its chapter on Costumes and Carriages:

In the time of Wu-tê (A.D. 618 to 626) and Cheng-kuan (A.D. 627 to 649) the palace maids when riding horseback mostly wore the *mu li* (ch. 4) (a long mantle used earlier in the sixth century); this fashion originated among foreigners; it covers the entire body, protecting one from the curious eyes of people on the street. In the families of the nobility the ladies copied the palace attendants. After Yung-hui (A.D. 650) they used the *wei mao* (ch. 3) (veiled hat) (Plate XV); the veil covered the neck. Gradually they exposed a little more. Soon an edict was passed prohibiting this shortening; at first it was obeyed, but they soon went back to the old way. In the second year of Hsien-heng (A.D.

<sup>1)</sup> Pope. *Survey*. pl. 163 A & B.

<sup>2)</sup> Ishida, K. *Iranian Girls in Ch'ang-an, Metropolis of the T'ang Empire*. Bukkyo Bijutsu, no. 15, text in Japanese.

<sup>3)</sup> *T'ang Tai Ch'ang-an Yü Hsi-yü Wen-ming*, by Hsiang Ta, Yen-ching Monograph no. 2, Peking, 1923, p. 41-45.



671 to 672) an edict was issued saying: "Women members of the families of officials all belong to the scholarly, aristocratic classes; therefore, when they appear on the street, why are they not completely covered as is proper? Recently they have been wearing the *wei mao* discarding the *mu li*; instead of riding in carriages, they sit in *tan tsu* (palanquins). Thus they imitate each other and custom is established. This is entirely frivolous and vulgar, and shows a serious lack of propriety... This should be stopped. From this time on don't let it happen again".

In the early K'ai-yüan (713 to 741) the palace maids who followed the imperial carriage on horseback mostly wore "Hu" hats (Western style, with hollow crowns) and exposed their prettily painted faces. The common people emulated them and the fashion of the *wei mao* was absolutely out. After a while they did not cover the coiffure when riding, and some wore men's clothes and boots; highborn and lowborn, men and women, couldn't be distinguished from one another - all looked alike.

After the K'ai-yüan era the T'ai Ch'ang Institute of Music preferred Barbarian tunes. Noble families all served Barbarian food; men and women vied with one another in wearing Barbarian clothes. This preference really presaged the rebellion of Fan Yang Barbarians at the end of the T'ien-pao era (755) long beforehand...

Quoting from the works of three mid-T'ang poets, Hsiang Ta emphasizes the Persian influence in dress:

From the lines of Liu Yen-shih, "In the fine wool Hu garments the sleeves were small"; and from Li Tuan, "I hold my lapel (*Chien p'i*, ch. 5) and my sleeves bind my arm when I dance for you"; and from Chang Yu the description: "Out she comes wearing a red flowered gown with tight sleeves."

Changes came, too, in cosmetic fashions, which horrified the poet Po Chü-i:

The current fashions started in the city and spread in all directions. No rouge is smoothed on the cheeks, nor are faces powdered. A dark ointment is put on the lips to make them look like mud, and both eyebrows are painted like *pa* (Chinese character 八 meaning 8) painted very low. Everybody, whether light or dark, beautiful or ugly, ceased to be natural. After they had dolled themselves up they had a melancholy look, an air of sadness. The hair was dressed in a round top-knot without any side-locks, the *tui chi* (ch. 6) fashion. The red "beauty marks" are so brilliant that they make them look as though they are always blushing. Please remember that the fashions of the Yüan-ho era (806 to 820), the spotted face and the piled-up hair, are not Chinese style.

Hsiang Ta quite rightly attributes the orange-colored beauty spots to the style of Turfān oasis towns, for we can still see evidence of their use in the murals published by von Le Coq.<sup>1)</sup> By the ninth

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<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Chotscho*. Berlin, 1913. Pl. 11 D.



century Persian power and prestige had waned, and fashions in China were drawn from Central Asiatic – Turkic – sources rather than from the Near East. It was noted that ladies riding horseback wore Uighur costumes especially becoming to those who had small waists.<sup>1)</sup>

The Uighurs referred to, had, like the Chinese, come under considerable Iranian influence; their rulers had even adopted the teachings of Mani, a Persian-born prophet, for their official religion in the eighth century. Among all the Turks who played important roles in Chinese life and Chinese foreign relations, the Uighurs were at times their greatest friends and their most troublesome enemies. Some of them had settled in the Turfān area, on the northern route that cut across the vast Turkestan, or Sinkiang, country which lay westward from China's outpost community of Tun-huang.

#### CENTRAL ASIA REPLACES PERSIA AS CENTER OF INFLUENCE.

*Description of the Topography of the Tarim Basin and the Trade Routes.* — Beyond Tun-huang stretched the Lop desert and the dry seabed of the Lop-nor, and farther away, the Taklamakan wastes that comprised the major portion of the Tarim Basin, some 900 miles long and 300 miles across at its greatest width. To the north, the T'ien-shan range formed a barrier, and, to the south, the K'un-lun, which continue to the east in the Nan-shan (Richthofen) mountains. Across the thousand miles that separate China from the more thickly inhabited areas of the Near East and India, the Trade Routes had been worn through seemingly trackless dune country; the southern, and oldest, skirted the Lop-nor and passed through Mīrān, Niya, Khotan, Yotkan, and Yārkand; the northern lay slightly west of Hami, and proceeded through Turfān, Qarashahr, Kuchā, Qizil, Aqsu, Tumshuq, and Kāshghar; an old route of the center passed north of the Lop-nor toward Loulan. The only river that crosses the sandy country between the northern and southern routes in our time is the Khotan Darya and that flows for only a few months in the spring half way down the Tarim.

Central Asia<sup>2)</sup> which consists of the lands west of Tun-huang bounded by the Northern and Southern Trade Routes and the terri-

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<sup>1)</sup> Hsiang-Ta. *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>2)</sup> Herrmann, A. *Historical Atlas of China*. Cambridge, 1935. Map 37.



tories adjacent, i.e. the Southern Siberian steppes and mountains, the area east of the Caspian Sea watered by the Syr Darya (Iaxartes River) and Amu Darya (Oxus River), ancient Bactria, the northern part of modern Afghanistan, and the long northwestern borderlands of Tibet, offers striking contrasts in topography and climate. In the descriptions left by travelers of the past, many of which are given in this text, and in the accounts written by modern explorers and archaeologists,<sup>1)</sup> we are constantly reminded of the extremes of temperature encountered, and the varieties of terrain they had to cross. Scorching winds blow across sandy wastes in the deserts, lands once cultivated that have been covered by these sands, or uncovered by the winds as the top soil is lifted off to reveal remnants of past civilizations, temples, dwellings, forests and orchards. Mountain peaks in the Pamirs, 15,000 feet high, and lesser peaks of the K'un-lun and T'ien-shan ranges are swept by fierce, cold gales and blinding snow. Lakes, fed by mountain snows, were thought to be the home of dragons, and water sprites, bottomless sources of danger to the pilgrims. The hardy traders, soldiers of fortune, and emissaries from these lands to the West of China are represented among the T'ang figurines, and many of them resemble the present inhabitants described by modern explorers.

Travelers from China left the Jade Gate or Yü-men, a fortified post west of Tun-huang, to face the dangers and uncertainties that beset most of the caravans in that region of deserts, difficult mountain passes, and nomadic marauders. Their hope for survival lay in reaching the stations in the oasis towns which dotted the life-line stretching across the sandy tracts and windswept plateaus. These communities were more than posting stations where men and animals could be cared for and then sent on their way — they were centers of trade, many of them contained large religious establishments, and all had sizeable settled populations made possible by irrigation and the cultivation of the soil. Orchards and vineyards were maintained, mining activities were carried on in some of them, small industries flourished, as did the handicrafts, and many of these towns were famous for their entertainers and musicians.

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<sup>1)</sup> Hedin, Sven. *Through Asia*, New York, 1899; *Across the Gobi Desert*. New York, 1932; *Riddles of the Gobi*. New York, 1933; *The Silk Road*. New York, 1938; Schuyler, E. *Turkistan*. New York, 1876; Trinkler, E. *Through the Heart of Afghanistan*. London, 1928; Filchner, W. A. *Scientist in Tartary*. London, 1940; Tichy, H. *Afghanistan*. Leipzig, 1940; Lattimore, O. *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*. New York, 1940; and the books noted in this text by Sir Aurel Stein, Grünwedel, von le Coq and members of the French Delegation to Afghanistan.



Though often a prey to raids by nomads, the oasis people nonetheless had established governments, small kingdoms leagued together, or dependent for protection on some nation with armies greater than their own. In the seventh century that power was China.

Architecturally, there are many evidences of the influence of Persia; domed and vaulted buildings of adobe and brick abound, and motifs inspired by Sassanian art were used in decoration. There is evidence, too, of similarities with Afghanistan, especially in the Buddhist art of the great religious center of Bāmyān which was noted for its sculpture, painting, and chambers cut out of the living rock of the mountainside. The rock-cut temple and monastery had been known earlier in India, to be sure, but Central Asian communities are more like Afghan models, and the very names given such rockcut settlements (Hazar saum in Persian Arabic, and Ming-oi in Turkestan, both meaning a thousand rooms) point to this relationship.<sup>1)</sup>

In the world of fashion Persia made many contributions through the seventh century, and in the realm of spiritual teaching the "heresy" of Mani, the Persian prophet who had set out toward the east in the third century A.D., had won many converts.

In religious thought, though, the dominant force had come from India whence Buddhist missionaries had gone to Turkestan in the first century A.D. In the settlements of both the northern and southern trade routes they took up residence, established monasteries, and built temples. It is largely through the remains of these structures that the explorers and archaeologists have been able to reconstruct the past and give us a clearer picture of the time when some of the cities, now heaped with sand, were alive and flourishing. Thanks to the Buddhist priests, too, the literature and philosophic thought of India came to these remote places, and thence went on to China.

In the adornment of Buddhist buildings both India and Persia made important contributions; painters and image-makers of the classic Gupta period of India had already developed their crafts to such a point of perfection that they served as models inspiring most of Buddhist Asia with art forms of incomparable beauty, while from Sassanian Persia the fashions of king and court enriched scenes which illustrated episodes of the life of the Buddha, or some narrative related to Buddhist doctrine.

A third contribution to this art had come from the Greco-Roman world. In northwest India, in the Gandhāra region, and in nearby

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<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Buried Treasures*, p. 18-21; Soper. *Op. cit.*, p. 225-248.



Afghanistan, Greek gods and demi-gods, Greek architectural motifs, and Greek coins, had already played an important role in the development of Buddhist images. Modified by the Romans, and carried into these very desert settlements by trade, there remained many evidences of Mediterranean influence in Central Asia.

As one nears China, especially in the Turfān oasis communities, Chinese contributions to Buddhist art were added to the others. Still later, in the ninth century, the Uighur Turks made their changes in color, and composition, and ethnic types.

This mingling of ideas and art forms may be seen near Tun-huang, in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien-fo-tung) which had been hollowed out of a cliff about ten miles to the south-east. Started by a holy man in the fourth century A.D., work was continued under the Wei, the Chinese of the T'ang period, the Uighurs after 840, and even the Tanguts who ruled there for two centuries following A.D. 1035. Walls were covered with murals, niches were filled with sculpture, and votive banners were made ready to be dedicated by the faithful. Situated as it was where caravan roads converged, where China maintained military outposts in her times of power, being also a holy place for pilgrims, it had been kept alive for centuries. Most of the "Western Barbarians" who approached the Middle Kingdom by land must have passed that way, and many of them are depicted on the walls; those of the T'ang period, being similar to the figurines, are important in our study of ethnic types.

Though the country to the westward is now called Eastern Turk-estan, it was not predominantly Turkish in the T'ang period, but occupied by people of many racial and linguistic groups (see chart). Some of the important oasis cities were inhabited by people of Indo-European language; from Kuchā to Turfān the ruling classes spoke "Tocharian," i.e. a language of the Centum group with some features linking it to Italo-Celtic. In the murals of the Kuchā-Qizil area, and in Turfān, they are represented as being fair-skinned, with blue-gray eyes and either red hair or wavy black hair. Their eyes do not slant as do the eyes of Chinese, Turks and Mongols, their noses are straight with delicate nostrils, and their mouths are small with a short upper lip. They resemble Celtic types in appearance; aristocratic in bearing, with a taste for sumptuous clothes and fine weapons, they seem indeed to be fore-runners of the lords and ladies of Medieval Europe.



*Turfān: Early Inhabitants both Tocharian and Chinese.* — People of many races had mingled and intermarried in the Turfān oasis communities to judge by archaeological remains — remnants of the Huns and Tatars were there as well as members of some Turkic tribes.

Tocharians and Chinese, being rulers and administrators, must have had house servants and grooms drawn from the simple folk of the native population; all of them must have watched with interest as the caravans came through, or as groups of holy men came in to establish religious foundations, for traders and monks came from far-away places. The several towns of Turfān-Murtuq, Bāzāklik (Bezēklik), Khocho (Chotscho or Kao-ch'ang), Idiqutshāhri, and Astāna, must have been as cosmopolitan then as was Ch'ang-an later on.

Even in its early days, the records remind us, Chinese culture had touched the area. Stein quotes from the *Pei-shih* which was composed in the seventh century, and says:

In that portion relating to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., Kao-ch'ang (as it was called in China) is said to contain eight towns, all of them including Chinese among their inhabitants. Mention is made of the warm climate and fertility of the soil, which allow cereals to ripen several times a year. Irrigation of the fields is especially noted; also sericulture and abundance of fruit and wine. The people are said generally to worship the "Spirit of Heaven" (T'ien shen) which probably means Manichaeism, while at the same time believing in Buddhist doctrine... For the period of 557 to 618, preceding the T'ang, sixteen towns in Kao-ch'ang are mentioned, later on increased to eighteen; administrative organization was modelled on the Chinese system. "While the men dress as is the custom of the Barbarians (Hu), the women in costume and hairdressing follow the Chinese fashion." Writing was the same as in China, but the scripts of the Hu were also in use. Laws, customs and ceremonies were in essentials those of China.<sup>1)</sup>

A further explanation for the reason of close ties to China, and the resulting emphasis on Chinese fashion and ways of life in pre-T'ang and early T'ang years is given by Chavannes who looks into the official annals and finds there the following remarks about Turfān:

The people wear their hair in a knot which hangs behind the head. Long before, under the Sui in 609, the chieftain of Turfān had gone to render homage to the Chinese court, and followed the emperor on his Korean expedition. On his return, the emperor had honored him by giving him a princess from the imperial clan for his wife. In 612 they had returned to the barbarian land, and promulgated an order which said, "Formerly, since our dynasty was in a savage frontier country, we wore our hair hanging down the back and buttoned our garments on the left... Now the great Sui dynasty is in power the universe is

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *Innermost Asia*. London, 1928, p. 576.



peaceful and united. As for me, an orphan, I am touched by the influence of concord, and it is fitting that I expand the great transformation. Let the people and all above them undo their braids or knots of hair and do it in the Chinese fashion, and change the lapel which crosses to the left on their garments." The emperor, learning of this, praised him highly for renouncing the ways of the barbarians for those of China, and gave him a present of garments and hats. The ruler, Ch'ü Pa-ya, died in 619.<sup>1)</sup>

This Ch'ü dynasty, Chinese in origin, had ruled in Turfān since 507. The next in line, Wen-t'ai (620 to 640) was the best known of the family and appears to have had a strong personality. We learn<sup>2)</sup> that he had sent as a present to the court two dogs six inches high and one foot long each of which could lead a horse by the bridle and carry a lighted candle in his mouth. These dogs were supposed to have come from Fu-lin (Syrian part of the Byzantine empire). It was the first time they had been seen at the Chinese court. In 627, when T'ai-tsung ascended the throne, the ruler of Turfān sent him a black fox fur; the Chinese emperor then sent to his queen an ornament of gold flowers, and she expressed her appreciation by dispatching a little table with a jade top.

*Description of Turfān by the Chinese Pilgrim Hsüan-tsang.* — Wen-t'ai's impetuous nature and his devotion to Buddhism are well illustrated in the episode of his encounter with Hsüan-tsang in 630. That young monk, called the Master of the Law, had started on his pilgrimage to India to study Buddhism in the land of its origin. He had reached Hami when he was met by a group of officers bearing an invitation to proceed with them at once to Turfān, where the king awaited him impatiently. It was after sunset when he arrived after a six day's march, but the ruler could not contain himself until the morning to make the acquaintance of the pilgrim; he came out by torch-light to salute him and ordered that he be housed in a tent made of precious fabrics.

Pleased as he was by such a cordial reception, Hsüan-tsang's pleasure was tempered by misgiving when it became evident that Ch'ü Wen-t'ai's real intention was to keep him in Turfān, and he was forced to protest vigorously, explaining that his purpose was to seek the authentic Buddhist scriptures of India to correct the Chinese translations which were often defective and led to misunderstanding; he

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 101 et seq.

<sup>2)</sup> Grousset, R. *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*. London, 1932. p. 45.



had no thought of receiving honor for himself, nor had he any intention of stopping short of his goal. His protest, though, had little effect; when he realized that his host would not be moved by words, he resorted to a method familiar to the twentieth century, the hunger-strike, performing it in the Hindu fashion of sitting upright and motionless. At the end of three days, when there was a perceptible change in his breathing, the king relented in shame, and agreed to help the voyager on his way, provided that he stay for a month to give the royal family and the local people the full benefit of his eloquence and learning. To this the Master consented, and he received some 300 people each day, including the ruler who knelt at his footstool each time he mounted to his seat.

As the time of departure drew near, he was given clothing to protect himself and his guard against the bitter cold of the mountains that lay ahead, including masks, boots and gloves. His party consisted of twenty-five servants and thirty horses; the latter were loaded with gold and silver, bolts of rare textiles, and everything necessary for his journey, even letters of introduction to the princes of Central Asia, and one of special warmth was directed to the Khan of the Western Turks, to whom the king subscribed himself as "slave," and for whom he designated two chariots filled with 500 pieces of satin.<sup>1)</sup>

Later, Ch'ü Wen-t'ai had a change of heart toward his Chinese neighbors. He did not appear with the other chieftains to offer homage to the Son of Heaven, and he stopped all tribute-bearers from going through his territory and kept some Chinese by force. The Emperor reproached him, and warned him that in the coming year he would send an army out to punish him. Wen-t'ai felt confident that an imperial army could not be properly fed on the long desert marches, and waited calmly, but in 640 he learned that the army had arrived in the desert. He was seized by fear, fell ill, and died.

The Chinese Conquest of Turfan. — His son succeeded him, and seeing the might of the Chinese armies, begged for clemency and offered himself in submission. He had been especially impressed by the showers of stones thrown by Chinese engines of siege, which had produced panic in the town. An inscription of A.D. 640, set up in Barkul Pass, refers to the careful preparations made by the Chinese commanders to assure the success of the expedition; these preparations had been

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<sup>1)</sup> Grousset. *Op. cit.*, p. 47-50.



necessary because of the strong fortifications, especially the natural ones, in that territory.<sup>1)</sup>

It had been worth the planning, for

the armies of Kao-ch'ang melted as snow in sunshine before the Chinese armies. The emperor was very pleased and gave a large banquet to those who had triumphed. People of importance from Kao-ch'ang were brought to the Middle Kingdom. Ch'ü Che-chang was named general in the guard of the left and regional Duke of Chin-ch'eng, and his younger brother was given high rank in the guard of the right, and named regional Duke of T'ien-shan. The Ch'ü family had ruled for 134 years when they disappeared.<sup>2)</sup>

The conquest had been an enormously important one for the Chinese forces, since it increased Chinese prestige in Central Asia, and allowed the T'ang emperor, T'ai-tsung, to bring a large territory into the imperial administrative system. It was recorded that it was composed of:

Three districts, five sub-prefectures, twenty-two towns, 8,000 households, 30,000 inhabitants and 4,000 horses. Whether the figures of population here given may be considered approximately accurate is impossible to say. The mention that in T'ien-ti (Kao-ch'ang) alone more than 7,000 prisoners were taken might suggest some underestimation ... It is clear that the great strategic importance of Turfan was from the first fully recognized by those who prepared the emperor's plans for the extension of Chinese supremacy into the Western Countries ... The emperor decided upon the complete incorporation of the territory within the administrative limits of the empire, instead of allowing it to remain under a vassal chief as was urged by advisors and as was done in the case of states subsequently reduced within the Tarim basin.

Between the years 640 and 670 the district may be assumed to have remained in undisturbed Chinese occupation. But whether this continued during the two following decades appears very doubtful. We know that after 670 the "Four Garrisons" were overrun by the Tibetans ... Chinese supremacy in that region was not re-established until 692. The recovery of the "Four Garrisons" in 692 was followed by a period of consolidation of Chinese power in Eastern Turkestan, which extended for more than half a century and must have brought increased prosperity to Turfan.<sup>3)</sup>

Concerning the towns of the "Four Garrisons" about which there has been some confusion, Lévi gives an opinion that, at first, they consisted of Kuchā, Kāshghar, Khotan and Toqmaq. After the year 719, the town of Qarashahr was substituted for Toqmaq which was

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Innermost Asia*. Vol. II, p. 577 and note on p. 578.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 107 and 109.

<sup>3)</sup> Stein. *Innermost Asia*, p. 578-80.



occupied by the Western Turks. In 658, when the Chinese transferred from Turfān to Kuchā the seat of the protectorate of An-hsi, the designation "Four Garrisons" appeared for the first time, it would seem. By 670, when the Tibetans forced the Chinese to abandon them, Qarashahr was already designated as one of the four strongholds, replacing Toqmaq, but Toqmaq had come again into Chinese hands and Qarashahr was eliminated; when Toqmaq was occupied by the Western Turks about 719, Qarashahr was again substituted.<sup>1)</sup>

Chinese Settlement in Astāna (Turfān area); evidence of the burial customs akin to the Chinese. — In the dry sands of Astāna, three miles northwest of the ruined walls of Qara-khōja, the old capital of the Turfān district, Stein explored a former burial-ground which had been used from the very beginning of the seventh to the mid-eighth century. Since we have no reliable description of a tomb of this period in China itself, it is interesting to note a provincial type. It was

marked by small conical mounds covered with stones, and by low lines of embanked gravel which formed enclosures around scattered groups of such mounds. These mounds indicate the position of tomb chambers which are cut at considerable depth into an underlying hard stratum of fine conglomerate or sandstone. A narrow rock-cut passage, originally filled in again, led down to a short tunnel-like passage giving access to each tomb and itself closed with a brick wall.<sup>2)</sup> The tomb chambers of varying size and plan, lie at the depth of twelve to sixteen feet below the level of the ground. Chinese funeral inscriptions on hard bricks... and dates on miscellaneous Chinese papers... prove that the burials belong to the period which followed the establishment of Chinese rule in Turfān (A.D. 640) under the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung, and to that immediately following... There is no doubt that the persons buried there were Chinese in origin. Yet the influence exercised by Western Asiatic culture is also recognized among the finds e.g. in the numerous remains of fine figured silks (used as face cloths) in an unmistakably Sassanian style.<sup>3)</sup>

Among the many interesting objects unearthed, which include elaborate pastries as carefully designed as architectural ornaments, one of which seems to be the ancestor of the pretzel while others are like Sassanian jewelry,<sup>4)</sup> there were:

<sup>1)</sup> Lévi, S. "Le Tocharien." In *Jour. Asiatique*, Jan.-March, 1933, p. 4, note 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*. London, 1933, p. 265-6.

<sup>3)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. In an article signed by L. Binyon. "Remains of a T'ang Painting discovered by Sir Aurel Stein." In the *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1925, p. 266-9.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*. pl. 126.



neatly worked models of household furniture and utensils as well as many painted stucco figurines intended to represent the attendance to be provided for the dead in another world. Among them were found carefully modelled figures of ladies showing interesting details of dress,<sup>1)</sup> armed horsemen in numbers to serve as a cortege, and native servants in characteristic costume.<sup>2)</sup>

**Important Data on Costumes and Racial Types.** — One of the precious examples of T'ang secular painting, the famous "Concert," was unearthed at the same time.

The very brittle fragments of a picture on silk were recovered while clearing sand from the floor of the principal chamber of the tomb. They... belonged to a makemono-like scroll which had been badly handled and broken to pieces when the tomb was plundered... The funeral inscription could no longer be found... hence it is particularly fortunate that a number of dated documents among the "waste papers" enable us approximately to fix the time of the burial... Five among the exactly dated papers belong to the first year of Shên-lung, corresponding to our A.D. 705, while others correspond to A.D. 690, 693 and 709. From these records it may be safely concluded that the burial, in all probability, took place during the first quarter of the eighth century.<sup>3)</sup>

Further archaeological evidence tends to confirm this, e.g. musical instruments portrayed in the painting, a wooden stand, and details of costume, all of which seem to be contemporary with objects in the renowned Shōsōin collection brought together by the Japanese Emperor Shōmu before A.D. 748, and fragments of paintings found in this same locality by Count Otani, one of which may be dated A.D. 716.

The "Concert" consists of groups of figures standing under trees, ladies with their attendant pages, dancers and musicians, "the whole would seem to have pictured a musical festival in honor of spring."<sup>4)</sup> The remaining colors are brilliant, the details of fabric design, coiffure, and the foliage of the trees are painted with great delicacy by an expert hand. The ladies wear the costume to be seen on the equestriennes of the same Astāna tombs, as well as on countless figures among donors and non-hieratic personages in temple banners and frescoes of Tun-huang, and in copies of T'ang secular painting, such as the "Ladies Preparing Silk" of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, copied by the Sung Emperor Hui-tsung from a painting by Chang Hsüan, a court painter who flourished about 713 to 742, whose original painting had

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., pl. 121.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., for illustrations of the painting, see plates I and II in this article.



been in Hui-tsung's collection,<sup>1)</sup> and in "A Group of Court Ladies Fatigued by Embroidering" of the Moore Collection,<sup>2)</sup> and another copy of Chou Fang's work in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. It is the costume worn also by the majority of women among the tomb figurines unearthed in Honan, Shansi and other parts of China (Plate VIII) the costume which came into fashion because of contact with the "Western Regions."

The tight sleeve and the long skirt, which was generally pleated, and made of fabric of imported design, and the invariable long scarf draped over the shoulders, all point to the Persian origin of the style which underwent modification in Central Asia. A real Central Asian contribution seems to be the use of "beauty marks" on the forehead and face, variations perhaps of the Hindu marks, as well as the brilliant rouging of the cheeks, and heavy outlining of the brows with black ointment. These Astāna ladies, whether figurines on horseback or delicately painted participants in the "Concert," demonstrate the popularity of that "make-up" fad which scandalized the courtly Chinese. Here, and in China itself, we have evidence within a datable time range of the dress which must have been the mode from the middle of the seventh through the middle of the eighth centuries.

Seeking for Tocharians among the early settlers of the Turfan area (other than the figurines of the Astāna cemetery), I have found a fragment of a painting of a lady<sup>3)</sup> who has the same Europeanoid facial type, with white skin and black hair. She wears a headdress similar to the Sassanian, consisting of two horns or floating ribbons but her face is not Iranian; she wears the low décolletage, high waisted dress with tight sleeves such as we see at Kuchā and Qizil. I suggest, also, that the monks of plate 10 b, *Chotscho*, are Tocharians, and they are labelled by the author "Older style," which places them stylistically in pre-Uighur days. The monk, labelled "perhaps Tocharian" by von Le Coq and Waldschmidt,<sup>4)</sup> does not resemble the other Tocharians, to my mind, for he has a very prominent nose and high cheek

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<sup>1)</sup> Tomita, K. *A Portfolio of Chinese Paintings from the Han to the Sung Periods in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. 1933. Pls. 46, 52-6, and p. 9 of the text.

<sup>2)</sup> Hackney, L. and Yau, C. F. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore*, New York. 1940. p. 69, pl. XXI, attributed to a Sung painter copying Chou Fang who lived c. 780-810.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von *Chotscho*, pl. 4 c.

<sup>4)</sup> Waldschmidt, E. *Gandhāra, Kutschā, Turfan*. Leipzig, 1925. pls. 18 c and 21 a.



bones which one finds among the Eastern Iranians and Afghans rather than the more Celtic-looking Tocharians, who have straight noses, a short upper lip, and brows which arch rather than beetle. The Celtic elements — of costume, rather than physical characteristics — were stressed by Andrews<sup>1)</sup> himself a Scotsman. In describing a guardian Vajrapāṇi he said:

A kilt reaches nearly to the knees, edged with a frill or ruffle. A small apron or sporan hangs in front of the stomach . . . A shawl hangs from the shoulders, its upper corners brought around to the front of the neck and tied. A stole floats at his side . . .

If one wished to carry the Celtic thought further, one could easily see the prototype for peasant dresses, such as worn now in Wales, in the lady riders of Astāna, — for the high "witches hat," a black bodice, and a long skirt of figured or striped material look so familiar that it is difficult to believe that they were a part of Central Asian life in the seventh and eighth centuries rather than a late Medieval fashion which has been retained even today.

In China itself the vogue of the long pleated skirt and the fitted bodice with tight sleeves had disappeared by the middle of the ninth century. After that, to judge by donor costumes on a dated banner of the ninth century,<sup>2)</sup> the mode in China returned to a more traditional style. This was doubtless due to a decline in prosperity and power which was linked to political change that took place in the middle of the eighth century.

The most dramatic episode in that change was the defeat of a Chinese expedition under Kao Hsien-chih in 751 by the Arabs and their allies at Talas, 180 miles northeast of Tashkent. Kao, then in charge of the Four Garrisons, was ordered by Ming-huang (the Emperor Hsüan-tsung) to proceed at the head of 10,000 cavalry westward into the high mountains which separate Turkestan from Persia and Afghanistan to join battle with their enemy, the Tibetans. The problem of supply alone would have daunted a less determined leader on that long march through deserts and mountain snows, but the Korean-born general led his men through a successful campaign into the very headwaters of the Oxus river, and proudly sent word back to his

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<sup>1)</sup> Andrews, F. H. *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein During His Explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi*. Delhi, 1935.

<sup>2)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *The Thousand Buddhas*. London, 1921. Pl. XVI, dated A.D. 864.



emperor that the Tibetans had been routed, and Chinese power and prestige were being extended farther west. Three years later, however, he came up against a mightier force of Mohammedans at Talas, and he suffered a disastrous defeat. From that time on the followers of Islam began to penetrate Central Asia, and Chinese power dwindled in the Tarim basin.

Decline of Chinese Power in Turfān. — Among the oasis centers, the enfeebled empire had to content itself with bestowing great titles, nominal promotion and the like, upon those valiant wardens of the last Central Asian possessions, their officers and men, without affording help against the increasing pressure of the Tibetans from the south . . . Towards the close of 789 fresh reports reached the court from Pei-t'ing, showing the desperate straits to which were reduced the Chinese who still held Pei-t'ing and Turfān . . . The Tibetans were reported to be attacking Pei-t'ing with the help of Turks, and the people submitted to them in 790. The Chinese administrator with his force of 2,000 men was obliged to retire to Hsi-chou or Turfān . . . After this Anhsi (Kuchā) was isolated, and Turfān tried to hold out bravely in order to remain faithful to the T'ang.

The complete predominance which the Tibetans appear to have gained in Eastern Turkestan during the early part of the ninth century accounts for the absence of further reference to Turfān, in the Chinese records of the period. Soon after the middle of the century, Tibetan supremacy there and in western Kansu was broken by the Uighurs, whom Kirghiz attacks had forced to move from their former seats in Mongolia to the south and southwest. Turfān, by its geographical position was exceptionally well adapted to facilitate a fusion in culture and language between its last Turkic conqueror and the ancient stock established in the oasis . . . The two territories, successively known as Anterior and Posterior Chū-shih, Kao-ch'ang, and Pei-t'ing, Turfān and Guchen, . . . were admirably adapted by nature to serve as the cherished seat of rulers of an originally nomadic tribe, capable and eager to adapt itself to civilized life. On the northern slopes of the mountains they and their people could for a long time keep up what was pleasant in their traditional way of life, while drawing at the same time upon the settled population of the fertile oasis to the south for the material and intellectual resources with which to strengthen their power and add to the pleasures of its possession.<sup>1)</sup>

Uighur Dominance. — Uighur influence had begun to penetrate Turfān as early as the eighth century, about A.D. 760, in the opinion of von Le Coq, who tells the story of the German expedition into that area from 1902 to 1907. In his *Buried Treasure of Chinese Turkestan*, he speaks of the Uighurs as

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Innermost Asia*, p. 80-82.



a strong Turkish people, eminently gifted in arts of war and peace alike, who conquered the northeast of the country and took a firm footing in the town of Khocho, near Turfān, the junction of the two trade roads, where they accepted the existing civilizations and Buddhism as well.

Their kings, however, embraced the religion of Manes, whilst of their people a small minority, which afterwards increased to great numbers, were converted to Christianity. The people must, like their ancestors, be looked upon as a nation of entirely Western civilization.

Their three religions-Buddhist, Manichæan, and Christian — are all of Western origin. Their Sogdian writing is also derived from a Western Semitic source. They wrote with the reed pen of the Western peoples and their medical knowledge, as far as we know it, also came from the West. The Chinese influence upon their civilization was apparent mainly in externals, e.g. they used chopsticks and the Chinese inkslab and paint-brush for ordinary everyday writing. A certain admixture of Persian elements is apparent in their dress, although their clothing as a whole maintained its distinctive Turkish characteristics.

But since they were evidently an Eastern Asiatic race — and have hence been compared with the Chinese in outward appearance — they changed the forms of art which they adopted in much the same way as did the Chinese. Under their hands the classic faces of the Gods forthwith degenerated into those typical of Eastern Asia.<sup>1)</sup>

Early Description of the Uighurs in the T'ang Annals. — The Uighurs were written up in the T'ang Annals in somewhat disparaging terms with reference to their early days, they were described as being:

small in stature, proud and violent. They used high-wheeled carts. They were subjects of the Turks. They have no chieftains and no fixed habitations; they move about looking for water and pasturage. They are naturally cruel. They excel as horsemen and archers. They surpass all others in rapacity and brigandage.<sup>2)</sup>

It is much to their credit that they adjusted themselves so readily to the civilization existing in Turfān by the time they conquered it, and that they left every evidence of their skill in art, their intelligence, and their interest in the older cultures of Asia. Grousset has referred to them as, "the most civilized of the Altaic peoples who preserved the heritage of Indo-European culture."<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 21-22.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 87.

<sup>3)</sup> Grousset R. *The Civilizations of the East. China*, New York, 1931-34. Vol. III, p. 151.



Later Description by a Chinese Envoy. — A tenth century Chinese, Wang Yen-tê, who went out as imperial envoy in A.D. 982, described the place as being excessively hot with inadequate rainfall; he found that most of the houses were covered with white earth, but, that people left their houses and retired into caves when the heat was unbearable. A river from the mountain was deployed around the capital to fill irrigation ditches which served to water fields and gardens and to turn mill wheels.

He noticed that the inhabitants were skilled metal-workers, and that they made tubes of silver or copper and filled them with water which they threw at each other; sometimes they amused themselves by throwing water by hand, declaring that in so doing they destroyed the influence of the *yang* principle (of heat) and so prevented maladies. They enjoyed taking long walks and excursions, and always took their musical instruments with them, especially mandolins and guitars.

The men were great horsemen and archers. The women liked elaborate headdresses which were lacquered. They must have been good at embroidering, for "materials embroidered in floral designs" are recorded as exports along with marten skins and white felt. One can see such headdresses and panels of embroidery in the portraits of donors in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in Tun-huang, a part of their empire after about 847. This may refer also to the art of making of K'o-ssü tapestry.<sup>1)</sup>

Wang noted some fifty Buddhist monasteries there, the names of which, inscribed on the doors, had been given by the T'ang emperors. Their libraries contained great collections of Buddhist books and Chinese dictionaries. He was pleased, too, to find that though Chinese power had waned by that time, all the Imperial edicts from the Sons of Heaven had been carefully preserved.

In the spring, he was told, the people gathered in groups to make pilgrimages to these monasteries. They were mounted on horses, and carried bows and arrows which they shot at all sorts of things; they called this "conjuring away evil."

There were also Manichaean temples and devout Persians who faithfully observed their strict religious rules which had been called heretical by the Buddhists.

He found that there were no paupers in the kingdom; the poor were cared for at public expense. Life was not too strenuous, appar-

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<sup>1)</sup> Cammann, S. "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssü Tapestry." *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. XI, 1/2, 1948, p. 107.



ently, for men lived to be of great age, and he reported a goodly number of centenarians. The eating habits of the local inhabitants differed from those of their overlords; peasants ate mutton, ducks, and geese, while the nobility, being of nomadic tradition, ate horsemeat.

Wang saw this, and other evidences of the nomadic past of the Uighurs when he went to visit the Khan at his northern court (Pei-t'ing) where the royal family had gone to escape the heat, and to supervise the care given to the fine horses raised in the imperial studs there. Wang crossed the Golden Mountains, went around the Snowy Peak (where he was caught in a severe snow storm), and arrived at the summer capital, where he was housed in a monastery. The king had a banquet prepared of horsemeat and mutton, and gave him a splendid reception. At the official audience held seven days later Wang was impressed by the colorful ceremony; near the Khan was a musician holding a sonorous stone which he struck to guide the participants in their salutations. The Khan came first, and then his sons, daughters and other relatives dismounted and bowed before receiving the gifts brought by Wang from the Chinese emperor. This was followed by feasting and music and the presentation of a comedy, the whole affair lasting well into the night.

On a tour of inspection the next day, Wang was impressed by the sounds of music which came from all sides as he accompanied the imperial family on a boat ride on the lake, and by the Buddhist monasteries which had been built in 637. To the north he saw a mountain from which smoke poured, and in the evening, "flames like those of a torch." Ammoniated salt was procured there by men who wore shoes with wooden soles to protect their feet. At the foot of the mountain they dug out a black mud which they used in making copper. (They made vessels of gold, silver, and iron as well).

Wang was pleased by his visit among the Uighurs, finding them industrious, gifted in numerous arts, intelligent, and of an honest and open disposition. Either they had developed very much from the earlier days when the account of them in the T'ang annals had been written, or that account was quite unfair to them.<sup>1)</sup>

Their relations with T'ang China had been close indeed, for they served together in warfare, many of them lived in China, and several Chinese princesses were given in marriage to their chieftains.<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> For the diary of Wang, see Julien, S. "Les Oigours." In *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 50-66.

<sup>2)</sup> For the full account of their interrelationship see Appendix IV on the Uighurs.



In the twentieth century, contrary to the T'ang opinion of their strength, they seem to be a flourishing group in Sinkiang.<sup>1)</sup>

Portrayals in Local Art and T'ang Figurines. — Thanks to the publications of the explorers and specialists in Central Asian lore, we can go back into the period from the eighth through the tenth centuries to see what these people looked like in their mural paintings, sculpture, and fragments of scroll paintings taken from Khocho and Bāzālik, communities near the ancient city of Turfān. The Turkic type of face, with slanting eyes and long curved nose, differs radically from the Tocharian and Chinese of the earlier settlement.

Khocho, modern Qara-khōja, city of temples and strong walls, was still an impressive ruin when von Le Coq visited it; he describes it as:

an enormous square, covering about a square kilometer or 256 acres. The massive old wall in many places is still in good preservation. It is almost 22 yards high and made out of stamped mud in the fashion common even at the present time from Persia to China. Numerous towers — there are still 70 of them existing — strengthen this wall, which diminishes in solidity toward the top, but which in the lower part is so massive that the builders could have arranged whole suites of rooms within its bulk, especially near the gates.

The masonry of the gates is destroyed, but there appears to have been a fortified gate in the middle of each of the four walls enclosing the town, and apparently there was a fifth gate in the northwest corner of the wall.

The buildings are too much destroyed to allow the course of the streets to be plainly traced, but two wide main streets, one running from north to south, and the other from east to west, seem to have crossed each other in the center of the town. . . The ground plan, therefore, doubtless follows the pattern of the Roman castrum.

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<sup>1)</sup> In an article published in *Life* (New York, Dec. 13, 1943, p. 97) it is stated that: "Uighurs number 2,700,000 of Sinkiang's 3,700,000 people, and are the chief landowners." These same figures are given in the *Far Eastern Survey*, March 12, 1944, p. 53, in "Sinkiang Survey." In the *New York Times* of September 7, 1948, Henry R. Lieberman tells of the "fourteen distinct peoples living in Sinkiang who are split between three possible courses: full independence, more self-rule under the Chinese, or incorporation into the Soviet Union." He pictures "several hundred Turks, many illiterate but highly aware of their culture and traditions, crowded into the Uighur Cultural Club to attend a performance of native Sinkiang singing and dancing. An attractive girl in peasant costume brought down the house with a song of Turkic heroes and the refrain, 'We must all stick together'." The picture of a girl in *Life* (op. cit., p. 97) gives us an opportunity to see such a dancer, and the lovely Zuwida Khan (von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures*, pl. 13) bears witness to the continuing beauty of the women whose fashions had so much influence in China in the mid-T'ang years.



The buildings of the city are, without exception, temples, monasteries, tombs, in short, nothing but religious buildings. The architecture in every case is Iranian (with dome-shaped roof) or Indian (stūpa). No Chinese buildings are to be found either in Turfān oasis or any other of the old settlements visited by us. It was a city of temples, and a necropolis whose strong fortifications in time of war formed a refuge for the inhabitants living in simple mud houses outside the gates.<sup>1)</sup>

He found, in one of the ruins, a mural representing a man over lifesize in the dress of a Manichaean priest, surrounded by monks and nuns in white.<sup>2)</sup> He surmised that it was a "fasting hall" of the sect, and his find proved that the Manichaeans ornamented their buildings with frescoes. In the same neighborhood he found many fragments of their manuscripts, though they were only a small portion of the original hoard, for he was told that cart loads of them had been thrown into the river by a superstitious peasant.<sup>3)</sup> They had been made in the form of the ancient book-roll, or as folding books (concertina-wise), or made in the Indian style on long narrow leaves (pothi) pierced on one side in one or two places, or made as were European bound books. Writing was found on fragments of paper, parchment, soft gloveleather, and silk, most of them with illuminations in vivid colors, and it was the Manichaean script, "a clear, legible, and very beautiful form of the Syrian script; or again, in the bold characters of the Sogdian alphabet."<sup>4)</sup>

In the ruins of the old town fragments of manuscripts of all kinds were found; in one shrine were discovered Buddhist, Christian, Manichaean, and Zoroastrian writings, indicating that all used the same place of worship, and that the Uighur kings were tolerant to all. A dig in Shui-pang, near Turfān, yielded a considerable booty of Christian manuscripts, amongst them a complete psalter in Pahlevi inscription, script of the fifth century, also Uighur translations of the Georgios Passion as well as of a Christian apocryphon, dealing with the visit of the Three Kings to the Infant Christ. But of special value were great numbers of MSS in a variant of the Nestorian Estrangelo script... which proved to be Sogdian. There were also fragments of the Nicene Creed, portions of St. Matthew's gospel, the legend of the finding of

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<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 56.

<sup>2)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Chotscho*. Pl. I.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 58-9.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.



the Holy Cross by the Empress Helena, and other Christian texts.<sup>2)</sup> This points to considerable Christian activity before the Uighurs came.

A small temple outside the city was adorned with a fresco which he considered a Palm Sunday group.<sup>3)</sup> The officiating priest is neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, most probably Nestorian. "This little temple, apparently a Christian place of worship, a Nestorian house of prayer, or the like, had lost its Christian character by the erection of new inside walls, ..<sup>4)</sup> i.e. walls of a later date had been placed over the original ones, indicating the early date of the mural, which in style and in racial types portrayed, are in my opinion, pre-Uighur, or Tocharian. This is consistent, too, with the costume sequence which I have suggested, (p. 32 above), for the lady wears the early eighth century dress so similar to the donors of the Tun-huang banners.<sup>5)</sup> The two men, with their European faces, fair skin, and black wavy hair are much more like the Tocharians of Kuchā than the later Uighur Turks.<sup>6)</sup>

There must have been great activity in the adornment of all the temples and shrines of the different communities, for quantities of painting and sculpture were removed to Berlin by the Germans, much had been destroyed by the natives and by the elements, and yet Sir Aurel Stein found enough remaining on his visit to fill over a hundred large cases. . . . In spite of the risks implied by transport on camels, yaks and ponies over a total distance of close on 3,000 miles and across passes up to a maximum of more than 18,000 feet, they reached New Delhi safely, and are now housed in a building erected for them.<sup>6)</sup>

These works of art came largely from Bāzāklik (Bezeklik) below the village of Murtuq, on the steep west bank of the stream watering the Qara-khōja oasis. There they found an interesting series of ruined temple cells, partly cut into the rock, their walls decorated with paintings in tempera dating from Uighur times and representing scenes of Buddhist legends and worship in a considerable variety of style and subject.<sup>7)</sup>

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<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Chotscho*. pl. 7; and *Buried Treasures*. pl. 9.

<sup>4)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 78.

<sup>5)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Central Asian Tracks*. fig. 107; and vignette on the title page of *The Thousand Buddhas*.

<sup>6)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*. Berlin, 1926. p. 37-43.

<sup>7)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Central Asian Tracks*. p. 264.

<sup>8)</sup> Ibid., p. 263.



For the purpose of studying the various racial groups mingling in Central Asia in the ninth century (the period generally assigned to the murals), they are invaluable, and they are equally useful in helping to identify those peoples among the figurines buried in Chinese tombs.

On the walls thirteen feet high which had been covered by sand that protected their original vivid colors, there were pictures of monks from India with their names in the Brahmi script of Central Asia,<sup>1)</sup> men wearing yellow robes in contrast to East Asiatic monks in violet robes, whose names were written in both Chinese and Uighur characters. In the scenes of adoration there were Indian princes, and men of all kinds from the Western regions — Persians with the deep-set eyes of men accustomed to looking across glaring sands, Tocharians with their European faces, red hair and blue eyes, some white haired patriarchs, a few Semites, men of Syrian countenance, perhaps converts to Buddhism from a Nestorian community — all knelt before the Buddha, offering gifts. Even the majestic standing central figure reflected the polyglot character of the oasis culture, for Gautama no longer looked like the prince born in Kāpilavastu, but rather an Uighur, himself, with the long nose and slanting eyes of the Turks, and his attendants and guardians might have come from many different communities in Asia.

On the walls to the left and right of the doors were rows of Turkic benefactors or donors, the men on one side, the women on the other, with their Uighur names still visible beside them. They were of royal or noble rank, and carried themselves with great dignity. The faces were portrayed as long ovals, inclining to plumpness, with a heavy lower jaw (sometimes almost masked by black beards and moustaches for the male members) and both men and women had straight black hair, slanting eyes, and long noses. The nose had a higher bridge than among the Chinese, often curving down a bit toward the tip. This type of nose, as well as the general contour of the face, helps one to identify the Uighurs in the groups of burial figurines, as do the moustaches and beards worn by the men (Plate IX).

The men wore tunics with round necks, much like those of the Persians, but the Uighur robes are longer than the Sassanian, conforming more to the Chinese idea of dignity and ceremony. The fabrics show both Persian and Chinese influence in pattern. As a rule, the men wore boots of the Near Eastern type. Princes and high digni-

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<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Chotscho*. pl. 16.



taries wore headdresses which increased their height and impressiveness; the less august wore black caps similar to those of the Chinese.

Among the princesses and ladies of high rank there were several notable headdresses; one especially, shaped like an "onion dome," was popular, and was often worn with elaborate hairpins and ornaments. Their liking for rouge and "beauty marks" we have commented upon before. Their love of ornament and color was expressed in the embroidered panels, collars and cuffs on their dresses in which there was a good deal of red and orange, if the original colors have not changed radically.

Uighur Influence on Chinese Fashion. — These Turkish fashions had made their way into China in the late ninth and tenth centuries to judge by the donors and other ladies in the Tun-huang banners and murals.<sup>1)</sup> Much of the increased desire for the elaborate, which has been noted in the donatrices of the dated scrolls<sup>2)</sup> is due, I suggest, to this Uighur love of ornament which was popular in Western China, and the extensive use of reds and oranges no doubt came from the same source.

Manichaeism among the Uighurs and Chinese. — Though Manichaeism had been introduced into China from Persia rather than through the Uighurs, and many Uighurs were Buddhists in Turfān, they were closely associated in the Chinese mind.

As Drake<sup>3)</sup> and von Le Coq<sup>4)</sup> tell us, Manichaeism arose in Persia in the third century A.D., a new form of religion combining ideas of Christianity and Buddhism with Zoroastrianism. The founder, Mani, believed himself to be the last and greatest prophet promised by Jesus, the Envoy of Light. He preached that material things were evil, and the path of salvation lay in severe asceticism. His adherents were divided into two groups, the Electi, who wore white robes, ate no meat, drank no wine, abstained from marriage and from all manual work including the preparation of their own food, devoting themselves

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Serindia*. pls. LXI, LXVI, LXVII, LXXX, C; and *Thousand Buddhas*. pl. XXV.

<sup>2)</sup> Thompson, D. "Note on the Dated Rolls from Ch'ien Fo-tung in the British Museum." In *Rupam*, 1927, no. 30, p. 51-4.

<sup>3)</sup> Drake, F. Op. cit., in the *Christian Recorder*, p. 643 et seq.

<sup>4)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 30-35; and Burkitt, F.C. *The Religion of the Manichees*. Cambridge, England, 1925.



to fasting and regulated prayer — and the Auditores, who led ordinary lives, somewhat retired, abstaining from animal food, practising simple forms of worship, and ministering to the bodily needs of the Elect. They believed in Baptism, and a sacramental meal. They were skilled in astronomy, and were gifted in the illumination of manuscripts.

Mani has been remembered in Persia as a splendid painter, so able in fact, that his use of brilliant color to adorn his written scriptures caused as much antagonism among the Zoroastrians as did his doctrine. At their behest he was exiled, and spent most of the years of his life wandering beyond the eastern borders of his native Persia. As he wandered he taught, and won many converts in Central Asia, especially in Samarkand. He returned to Persia, hoping to have success with the royal family, as indeed he did, but the Zoroastrian priesthood incited the king against him, and Mani again had to go into hiding. In about 273 he was bound, crucified, and his body cut into two parts and stuffed with straw, and hung up at the gates of the capital.

His followers increased in number though they seem to have been unpopular whenever they came in contact with Buddhism in Asia, or with orthodox Christianity in the Mediterranean countries and Europe. It was in A.D. 694 that it was introduced into China by a Persian Fu-to-tan (one of the Elect), who came to court bringing the heretical Er-tsung-ching (Scriptures of the heretical Two Principles.)<sup>1)</sup>

The next recorded arrival of a Manichaean in China is in A.D. 719, for among the embassies that came from Western Asia was a "great mu-shê" an astronomer of great learning sent by the viceroy of Tocharistan with the request that the emperor would enquire of him about public affairs, and also about his religion, and that if he found he possessed these abilities, he would give orders for his support and for the building of a church for his worship.<sup>2)</sup>

Within thirty-eight years of its introduction, in 732, an edict was issued denouncing this religion as heretical, as falsely appropriating the name of Buddhism and misleading the people; it was therefore prohibited, but the practice of it was permitted to foreigners, for it was their own native religion.

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<sup>1)</sup> Drake. *Op. cit.*, p. 646.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 647.



This edict may be taken both as a condemnation of Manichaeism, and also as a limited recognition by the state, which may have been due to the desire of the state to retain the services of the Manichaeian astronomers, as in the case of the Jesuits during the early Ch'ing dynasty.<sup>1)</sup>

It was reported early in the eighth century there were in Ch'ang-an:

- 64 Buddhist monasteries, plus 27 convents of Buddhist nuns
- 10 temples and monasteries of Taoist monks
- 6 temples and convents of Taoist nuns
- 2 Persian temples
- 4 Zoroastrian or Manichaeian temples.<sup>2)</sup>

The entire population of China was estimated to be about 54,000,000 at that time.<sup>3)</sup> In the mid-ninth century, in 843, Manichaeism was the first foreign religion to be proscribed.

Hackin, in discussing murals of Bāzāklik, said that Manichaeism could not have manifested itself until some time after the conversion of the Uighurs to that belief (A.D. 763), when Buddhism was already well established there. The Manichaeian occupation (of ruined temples) therefore came between two Buddhist occupations, and the later Buddhists tried to destroy traces of the Manichaeians.<sup>4)</sup>

In the severe drought of 799 the Manichaeians were requested to use their formulas to bring rain to north China. This is just the reverse of the request to a Uighur priest who had been summoned in 710 (before many Uighurs were Manichaeians) to stop the rain.

During that year, when Ch'ang-an had been deluged with rain for more than two months, a certain Uighur priest offered his services to end the downpour. After prohibiting the slaughter of pigs, he set up an altar, and recited sūtras and invocations. In the course of fifty days he sacrificed twenty sheep and two horses, but the rain still continued. Thereupon the priest was himself despatched and the rain ceased forthwith.<sup>5)</sup>

In the ninth century Manichaeian priests served as ambassadors in marriage negotiations between the Uighur khans and the Imperial family in China. They were included in the retinues of important personages going from Khocho to Ch'ang-an, and served as astronomers to the Chinese court. About the middle of the century, as the

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 648.

<sup>2)</sup> Moule, A. C. *Christians in China*. London, 1930, p. 71, note 84.

<sup>3)</sup> Bielenstein, H. "The Census of China." In BMFEA, 1947, no. 19, p. 161.

<sup>4)</sup> Hackin, J. *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale*. Paris, 1936, p. 9.

<sup>5)</sup> Edwards. Op. cit., p. 57.



Uighurs became less troublesome to the Chinese on their northwest borders, Manichaeism lost favor in China.

At about that time, in 845, the emperor was influenced against Buddhism, Nestorianism, and Zoroastrianism; the edict of proscription ordered the destruction of some 4,600 Buddhist temples, the secularization of 260,500 monks and nuns, who were thenceforth to pay biennial taxes, the destruction of 40,000 shrines, the confiscation of millions of acres of lands that had belonged to religious foundations, the manumission of some 150,000 slaves, both male and female, who had been a part of the property of the foundations, and the direction that propagators of foreign religions should return to secular life so as not to contaminate the customs of China; about 3,000 of them were sent home to the Tarim Basin or India.<sup>1)</sup>

A dramatic reminder of this proscription was found by von Le Coq when he was exploring the ruins of Turfān and found a domed building:

we broke open the floor and found a heap of corpses of some 100 men, Buddhist monks apparently, on whom severe wounds had been inflicted; this massacre no doubt dated in the mid-ninth century, for at that time the Chinese government issued its proclamation . . .<sup>2)</sup>

As the Uighurs settled at Turfān and became the inheritors of the culture of the oasis settlement in the ninth century, Chinese power was on the wane. The glory of the T'ang dynasty was nearing its end, while Uighur influence was growing; their close association, sometimes as friends, sometimes as foes, was drawing to a close. Thousands of them had lived in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, had served with the Chinese army, and at the Chinese court. Princes, priests, mercenary troops, astronomers, scribes, business-men, acrobats, musicians and dancers — they had played a vital role in T'ang life and T'ang fashion, and appear in considerable numbers among the figurines. Their distinctive faces, which must have been a familiar part of the T'ang scene, are a normal part of the retinue placed in the tomb of a Chinese dignitary or citizen (Plates VI, IX, X, XI, XXVIII b).

Nestorianism among the Uighurs and Chinese. — Nestorian Christianity, as we have seen, was embraced by some Uighurs, and had gained a foothold in China as well. These followers of Nestorius, Pa-

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<sup>1)</sup> Goodrich, L. C. *A Short History of Chinese People*. New York, 1943. p. 126-7.

<sup>2)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 62.



triarch of Constantinople who was condemned as a heretic in the Council of Ephesus in 431, were peoples of different racial groups of the Near East and Central Asia, counting among their numbers Syrians, Tocharians, Turks, and Chinese. Our first certain knowledge of the entrance of Christianity into China is the Nestorian mission of A.D. 635.<sup>1)</sup>

The Nestorian monument discovered by workmen in Sian-fu (ancient Ch'ang-an, in Shensi) in 1625 (or 1623), which is dated A.D. 781, had been set up near the site of the first Christian church built in the Western Capital in 638; it had perhaps been moved there and buried after the edict against foreign religions of 845. Part of the translation of the inscription as given by Moule<sup>2)</sup> paints a picture of the great activity under the liberal Chinese emperors:

Recorded by Ching-ching, a monk from the Ta Ch'in monastery (the usual name for the Eastern Roman Empire perhaps referring to Syria here). When T'ai-tsung, the polished Emperor, was beginning his prosperous reign in glory and splendor, with light and wisdom ruling the people, there was in the land of Ta Ch'in one of high virtue called A-lo-pen who . . . in the ninth Cheng-kuan year (A.D. 635) came to Ch'ang-an. The Emperor sent the Minister of State, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, to take an escort to the west suburb to meet the guest and bring him to the palace. When the books had been translated in the library and the doctrine examined in his private apartments (the Emperor) thoroughly understood their propriety and truth and specially ordered their preaching and transmission.

An edict was issued ordering the establishment of a Ta Ch'in monastery in the I-ning quarter of the capital with twenty-one men as regular monks. The emperor's portrait was painted on the walls of the monastery. Years later it was recorded:

The Stone Bamboo-sprouts (columns) are the site of the Pearl Tower. Long ago there were foreigners who built a monastery here to be a Ta Ch'in monastery. The ten divisions of the gate tower had blinds made of strings of pearl and blue jade. Afterwards it was destroyed and fell to the ground, but the original foundations are there. Every time there is a rain the people . . . pick up many rare things like pearls, gold and blue jade.<sup>3)</sup>

Moule notes that Pelliot found information on the massive stone pillars called the Bamboo Sprouts, which were, on the north, sixteen feet high, on the south, thirteen feet high, and twelve inches in girth.

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<sup>1)</sup> Moule. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35 et seq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71-2.



The Emperor Kao-tsung . . . founded brilliant monasteries . . . and further promoted A-lo-pen to be Great Spiritual Lord, Protector of the Empire. The religion was spread over the ten provinces and the kingdoms were enriched with vast prosperity; monasteries occupied every big city and families enjoyed brilliant happiness.<sup>1)</sup>

Drake thinks that too sanguine a picture is presented by the inscription on the monument.

The statements have led to exaggerated views regarding the spread and influence of Christianity in China at that time. A correction will be found by reading those statements against the proper background of the religious conditions in China then, and especially the condition of other foreign religions in China at the same time.<sup>2)</sup>

A Christian manuscript, a "Gloria in Excelsis Deo," was found by Pelliot in the hoard sealed up in the small room cut in the cliff in the Ch'ien-fō-tung (Caves of the Thousand Buddhas) near Tun-huang. It was found by a local priest at the end of the nineteenth century, and is dated close to A.D. 800. It was probably written at or near Ch'ang-an, and contains a hymn to the Holy Trinity (identified with the East Syrian form of "Gloria"), lists of saints and books, and a short historical note, which records, "the religious books of this church of Ta Ch'in are in all 530 works."

Beside the "Gloria," (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), four other Christian documents have been recognized among the many MSS of Tun-huang now in public or private collections.<sup>3)</sup>

One of the vivid reminders of the truly international quality of life and thought in Ch'ang-an at the time comes from a book written about A.D. 800 by Yüan-chao<sup>4)</sup> giving the story of a man from Kapīśa (not far from Bāmiyān, Afghanistan), whose Sanskrit name was Prajñā (Pan-la-jo); he had attended the great Buddhist university at Nālandā in the Ganges country, and had then taken ship for China. He was shipwrecked, but managed in about a year's time to make his way inland to the metropolis, arriving in 782. Four years later he found a relative from his native land, a commander of the Imperial bodyguard. This relative begged him to translate a Buddhist text, which he attempted with the help of Ching-ching, a Persian monk from

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>2)</sup> Drake, F. S. Op. cit., in the Chinese Recorder, p. 354.

<sup>3)</sup> Moule. Op. cit., p. 52-8.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., p. 67, and footnote p. 69.



the Ta Ch'in monastery — (perhaps the same who wrote the Nestorian inscription of 781). They used a "Hu" (Western Asiatic) copy of the sūtra.

Since at that time Prajñā was unfamiliar with the "Hu" language, and did not yet understand the speech of the T'ang, and Ching-ching did not know Sanskrit nor understand Buddhist doctrine, though they professed to have made a translation they had not caught half of the gems.

The Buddhists had gained such a firm footing for themselves in their longer residence in China that it gave them a feeling of superiority over the somewhat minor groups of "Western" religious followers. One of them, Shu Yüan-yü had engraved on a stone the following, shortly after 824:

Among the different foreigners who have come there are the Mo-ni (Manichaeans) the Ta-ch'in (Christians) and the Hsien-shen (Zoroastrians). All the monasteries of these three sorts of foreigners in the Empire together are not enough to equal the number of our Buddhist monasteries in one small city.<sup>1)</sup>

Though the proscription of 845 was directed primarily against Buddhists, all the "foreign heretical religions" had to go, and the Christians must have been among them.

In trying to identify some of the Christians who were a part of the daily scene in T'ang times, we turn to the only contemporary Christian painting which shows some secular followers, that of Khocho, Tur-fān.<sup>2)</sup> The men wear dark caps which cover a good part of the head, caps quite unlike the stiff Chinese hat with its projecting tabs; they wear long robes rather than trousers, and the cape-like mantle which reaches below the knees, with the sleeves hanging empty in the Persian fashion. Wide lapels recall the Sassanian style, also.

Figurines of Christians. — These same costumes are worn by numerous foreigners among the Chinese figurines, and the little statuettes, like the men in the mural, stand often with the head tilted forward, hands clasped at the waist, in a demure attitude, proper perhaps for a "minority group." On the face there is usually a smile, a curious, confident smile which might be that of the meek who expect to inherit the earth (Plate XII, *a*). Though Harada had supposed

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<sup>1)</sup> Moule. *Op. cit.*, p. 70, note 83, from an inscription in the Ch'ung-yen monastery in Yung-hsing-hsien, modern Hsing-kuo-chou, Hupei.

<sup>2)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Chotscho*, sketch p. 17; *Buried Treasures*. pl. 9.



that this type of figurine might represent Uighurs, I believe that a close comparison with Uighur physiognomy will show that there is no real resemblance, but rather that the Khocho people are the pre-Uighur Tocharians, converted to Christianity.

There are so many wearing the mantle, which is also to be seen in a Tun-huang mural of the Six Dynasties or Sui style,<sup>1)</sup> that I do not suggest that all of them represent Christians, but that some of them may have been, and quite a few seem to be Tocharians.

The Tocharians, of course, were not confined to the Turfān area; they were, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the ruling class in Qarashahr and Kuchā.

*Tocharians of other Oasis Centers.* — Qarashahr. — Westward from Turfān were the other oasis settlements of Qarashahr (Karashar), Kuchā and Kāshghar, which had been conquered in the mid-fifth century by two T'o-pa Wei rulers of North China, a conquest which had brought them into close relationship with the Middle Kingdom in pre-T'ang times. The Tocharians of Indo-European language who lived there were portrayed by their contemporaries in the frescoes of the Kuchā area, especially in the Qizil (Kizil) settlement, murals which were copied by Grünwedel,<sup>2)</sup> and actually transported to Europe by the German archaeologists.

The king and queen, their courtiers and armed guards, are shown as aristocrats with round faces, straight noses (less prominent than the noses of the Uighurs), non-Mongolian eyes, blue or green in color, and fair skin. Their hair is wavy, and is depicted as being red, brown, or black. Men usually wore it parted in the middle and cut short, three or four inches from the top of the head except at the back, where it seems to have been worn long, tied with a ribbon at the nape of the neck.<sup>3)</sup>

In the T'ang records Qarashahr was called Yen-ch'i and was described as being more than 7,000 li west of the capital as the bird flies . . . (it will be remembered that the li is about 624 yards). Canals irrigate the fields, millet and grapes flourish, and there is a prosperous commerce in fish and salt. The people cut their hair and

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<sup>1)</sup> Pelliot, P. *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*. Vol. V, pl. CCXCVI, of Grotto 137 b.

<sup>2)</sup> Grünwedel, A. *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkistan*. Berlin, 1912.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*, Op. cit., p. 37-45; and Stein. *Serindia*. pl. CXXVI, mi-XVIII, 0014, a tempera wall painting from Qarashahr.



wear woollen clothes. There are 4,000 families and 2,000 soldiers. The customs of the people give importance to pleasure and diversion. In the second month, the third day of the moon, they go out into the country to make sacrifices; the fourth month, the fifteenth day of the moon, they walk out in the woods; the seventh month, seventh day, sacrifice to their ancestors; the tenth month, fifteenth day, the king goes out from the city for the first time and travels, stopping at the end of the year.<sup>1)</sup>

When the Buddhist monk Hsüan-tsang passed that way in his journey to India in 628 A.D., he wrote in his diary that it was a fertile oasis watered by several rivers which unite into one, and form a sort of girdle around it. He found that there were some ten Buddhist monasteries there, with nearly 2,000 monks belonging to the Hinayānist sect. Like the king of Turfān, the king of Qarashahr was a pious Buddhist, he came out to meet the Master of the Law with his ministers and made him his guest in the palace. Due to the rivalry between Turfān and Qarashahr, the Turfānese guard accompanying the pilgrim was not well treated, so Hsüan-tsang spent only one night there.

Later in the century, in 644, the King of Qarashahr neglected to send the tribute to the Chinese emperor which was expected. Troops were ordered out, reaching the city by forced marches, and made a surprise attack at daybreak. There was a complete rout; the Chinese cut off more than 1,000 heads. The king and his wife were taken as captives to Lo-yang, where an imperial decree pardoned them. Later, heeding the request of their people, the Emperor Kao-tsung allowed them to return and gave the king the title of Great General of the Guard of the Left. Qarashahr, with Kuchā, Kāshghar and Khotan (the three cities of the Four Garrisons) were allowed to collect taxes from merchants from the Western countries using that route.<sup>2)</sup>

From 660 the Tibetans proved to be very troublesome in the area. In 670 they took Khotan, Yārḳand and Kuchā which then were not won back by the Chinese until 692.

"After that, until the T'ien-pao era (742 to 755), Qarashahr always rendered homage to the court and expressed its felicitations."<sup>3)</sup>

Kuchā. — Of Kuchā, the sister city of Qarashahr, Sir Aurel Stein said:

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 110-111.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.



Apart from the size of the cultivated area and its economic resources which the irrigation facilities derived from two considerable rivers assure, Kuchā enjoys also the advantage of a geographical position particularly favorable for trade; for the highroad is joined here by routes leading north across the mountains to rich tracts of Dzungaria, while to the south, Khotan can be directly reached by the route that crossed the Taklamakan desert along the bed of the Khotan river. All this accounts for the importance, political as well as cultural, that has attached to the territory throughout historical times. This importance is reflected by numerous and impressive remains of temples and cave-shrines which illustrate the flourishing conditions of Buddhist religious establishments in Kuchā and the ample resources of the population that maintained them.<sup>1)</sup>

Description by Hsüan-tsang. — Returning to the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who had gone some 200 *li* beyond Qarashahr, crossed a hill and two large rivers, traversed more than 700 *li* westward, and approached the Ku-chih country; he reported that it measured some 1,000 *li* from east to west, and 600 *li* from north to south; its capital was seventeen or eighteen *li* in circumference. He found that the land yielded millet, wheat, rice, grapes, pomegranates, pears, plums, peaches and apricots. Its mineral riches consisted of gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin.

The climate was temperate and the people had honest ways. He was impressed by their skill with wind and stringed instruments, and he commented on their clothes made of variegated woolen cloth, and on the local custom of cutting the hair short, of flattening the heads of the new-born, and the wearing of turbans. He noted that they used coins of gold and silver and copper. Their writing was borrowed from India with certain modifications. Their king, a native of the country, "had few intellectual resources and was under the sway of powerful statesmen."<sup>2)</sup>

Description in T'ang Annals. — The T'ang dynastic histories mention the same products, and add of Kuchā:

It is more than 7,000 *li* west of the capital. Among the customs of the people are: their love of singing and making merry, and that when a child is born they depress the head with a piece of wood (a custom also followed in Qarashahr); they cut their hair on the top of the head, the prince alone does not cut it.<sup>3)</sup> The king covers his head with a silken cloth of many colors; he wears a tunic

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein, Sir M. A. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, p. 281.

<sup>2)</sup> Watters, T. *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-45 A.D.* London. 1904. p. 59.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*, fig. 10.



of silk of many colors and a belt adorned with jewels. At the beginning of the year they hold competitions of sheep, horses and camels for seven days; they observe which are victors and which vanquished for augury, whether the New Year will be good or bad. . . . At Kuchā and Khotan there are pleasure houses of women on which taxes are levied.<sup>1)</sup>

Even before the T'ang period of expansion it was worthy of note in the Chinese secular histories.

As early as the fourth century the Chin-shu declares with wonder and admiration, "The palace of the king of Kuchā possesses the splendor of an abode of the spirits." . . . The Wei history, as well as the T'ang histories speak of the charm of the women and the famous cosmetics and perfumes of Persia used by them, for which Kuchā was the great market. Their carpets were also vaunted; the beauty of their peacocks which came from a mountain valley north of the town was proverbial and must have inspired the famous peacock dome of a Buddhist shrine.<sup>2)</sup>

Music of Kuchā. — But, it was the excellence of its musicians that made the town especially renowned. Chinese records tell us that the people of Kuchā were fond of music and skilled in wind and stringed musical instruments. They modelled their sounds on rainfall and falling waters. They could reproduce an air on hearing it but once, and with just a little practice. Indian musicians had migrated there with Buddhism, and there is evidence of considerable Indian influence on the music and on musical notation; tradition was especially strong in one family, the Miao-ta, members of which went to China in the era 550 to 577.

Local musical parties used to be accompanied by four dancers. One of their demonstrations was the "Song of Universal Peace," another was the "Five Lions" — each lion was made up with twelve men, and required the assistance of 140 dancers. We have referred earlier to the Kuchān musicians sent to China in the Sui period; in 581, on the occasion of an imperial banquet, orchestras were sent from India, Kuchā, Bokhārā, Samarkand, Kāshghar, the countries of the Turks, Cambodia, and Japan<sup>3)</sup> (Plate XIII).

Kuchāns in Local Art. — On examining the painting and sculpture which portray these people, I have been impressed by their physical

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 115.

<sup>2)</sup> Grünwedel, A. *Alt Kutscha*. Berlin, 1920. pls. XIII-IV.

<sup>3)</sup> Bagchi, P.C. *India and China. A Thousand Years of Sino-Indian Cultural Contact*. Calcutta, 1944. p. 175-6.



resemblance to Mediterranean and Celtic types, especially in the color plates published by von le Coq.<sup>1)</sup> Though many of the women portrayed are devatās, goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon, they differ radically from the languid Hindu type, and have entirely different coloring and posture, standing straight rather than in the S curve of the Hindu beauties of India; the low décolletage is, I suggest, a local compromise, more favored in Kuchā than the nudity of India. This type of figure, high busted, long waisted, is well-adapted to the fitted bodice worn by the court ladies,<sup>2)</sup> and to their low-necked dresses; it must have influenced the sculptors even when portraying goddesses, and certainly was a fashion in early T'ang China (Plates VII b, XVI). The very pigment applied to the white-glazed T'ang wares recalls the Kuchān coloration — pale pink, rose, bluish-green, and black for hair, brows, etc. in contrast to dazzling white skin. Like the Central Asian ladies, the figurines have a roll of hair worn on the top of the head, and they wear the "Wei mao" and scarves which the fair Kuchāns adopted to protect their skin from desert conditions (Plate XV). I have never seen a picture of one squinting, or of a sun-burned skin.

One is struck by the influence of the local types even on the Buddha image<sup>3)</sup> for the Buddha has the round face, small mouth, and less languid eyes than Indian prototypes, and certainly does not resemble the Buddhas of Uighur character of Khocho. Similar figures are to be seen in von Le Coq's *Neue Bildwerke*.<sup>4)</sup>

Kuchān Fashions. — The tunics worn by the men, both in cut and fabric, recall the costumes worn by king and courtiers in Sassanian Persia. Patterns of delicate flowers, circlets of pearls, the triple pearl design, triangles and lozenges of pearls, stylized single buds and blossoms and medallions, are conventionalized and repeated on a plain ground of light blue, moss green, brown or white. We never see the racing clouds, the coiling dragons, and the birds in flight which might

<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. Teil I-IV. Berlin, 1922-24. *Die Plastik*, pls. 18 a; 19 a; 21 b; 22 b & c; 26 a. b, c, d; 27; 31 a to be compared with the Tocharian lady riders of the Chinese figurines; 32; 34; 35 — note black hair, white skin, European features.

<sup>2)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*. p. 44-5.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Die Plastik*. pl. 39.

<sup>4)</sup> See vol. V. of the *Buddhistische Spätantike* pl. 7, and other Tocharian types in pl. 11 a. In the *Neue Bildwerke*, II, pl. 6 are monks, knights, and ladies, and in *Neue Bildwerke* III, pl. 64, two knights and a king; in the same volume, pl. 3, brown-haired monks of European appearance.



have come from the Chinese side. Borders and hems were made of embroidered panels or brocades or fur which helped to hold the jackets out, and stiffened the lapels; this, in turn, increased the effect of elegance and slimness of waist, for there was no room for a paunch under these tunics held tight by a wide belt. Both men and women were svelte, not caring for plumpness which was the symbol of well-being in India and China. There is a T'ang figurine in Kansas City which, I suggest, represents a Kuchān<sup>1)</sup> (Pl. XII e).

In their murals, rank was indicated by the lapels (men of high position wore both opened out), by weapons (the long sword for high rank, the dagger for others), and all of the men wore boots, even the young painters who did self-portraits as they adorned the walls of one of the cave-temples. They, and many of the men approaching the sanctuary with blossoms for offerings, are portrayed with the hanging foot, a Sassanian convention which looks very much out of place here.<sup>2)</sup>

As they were depicted in the battle for the relics of the Buddha, participants in a dramatic episode rather than as donors, they were clad in armor, like the Sogdians, mounted on horseback, holding lances and battle banners.<sup>3)</sup> Even as donors in court costume, they wear protective sheaths which fit over the tunic.<sup>4)</sup> These chest and back protectors were adopted by the Chinese; the "plastron" and the pleated elbow cuff<sup>5)</sup> became a part of the dress of Chinese dignitaries (Plate XI, and Fig. 6).

The same richness of color and fabric are to be seen in the gowns of the ladies. Sometimes they, too, wear the wide lapels borrowed from Sassanian Persia, while at other times the neck line is round, cut to a deep décolletage unlike any other local fashion in Asia at that moment; it became the rage in China (Fig. 7) replacing the modest crossed folds of the traditional gown. In contrast to the Persian long tunic, which was rather shapeless, and the Chinese robe which concealed the figure, the Kuchān bodice was high waisted and moulded to the bust.<sup>6)</sup> This too, entered Chinese fashion before the T'ang period (see the kneeling lady in the Empress panel from Lung-mên), and became a part of the

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<sup>1)</sup> Sculptural forms in Terra Cotta from Chinese Tombs. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, 1939, Fig. 47 on pl. 15.

<sup>2)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*. p. 38-39.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., figs. 32 and 33, and p. 11-22 for discussion of armor.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., fig. 22.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid., fig. 11.

<sup>6)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*. p. 44-45.



T'ang attire (Fig. 7). The women also wore pleated cuffs, another part of their costume adopted by China (Pls. VII a, XVI).

Though the men seem ready for action at any time, always booted and armed, the ladies apparently led very protected lives, and must have rarely ventured out into the desert beyond their oasis. One cannot imagine them mounting a horse in the billowing skirts shown in their donor portraits; they must have worn full trousers or skirts of a different type when traveling. Veils, too, must have been worn to guard against the sun, sand and wind, and the sun-helmet, used long before by Bactrian rulers<sup>1)</sup> had remained in Central Asia, and thence had gone into Chinese fashion by 650, as the notice of the *wei mao* indicated (p. 21). When dressed in their most beautiful attire, as we may suppose they were in the Buddhist wall paintings, Kuchān ladies liked ribbons, scarves, and all sorts of fanciful headdresses. Even when riding horseback they played musical instruments, to judge by figurines of them in the former C. T. Loo collection; one plays a guitar, the other holds cup-cymbals.

Indian Influence in Buddhism. — Though Persian fabric and fashion had made such a deep impression in the Kuchā area, culturally India and Buddhism played the dominant role. One of the great men in early Chinese Buddhist thought, Kumārajīva, was a native of the oasis city, son of an Indian resident and a Kuchān princess. He had gone to India to study Vedic and Buddhist literature, and had returned to Central Asia before being taken captive there by the Chinese in A.D. 383. He was sent into Northern China, where he continued translation of sacred texts from Sanskrit which he had been wont to do earlier. As Grousset points out: "It is no exaggeration to say that through the intermediary of Kuchā a large part of Sanskrit literature was transmitted to the Farther East."<sup>2)</sup>

Equally important in the world of art was the transmission of Greco-Buddhist and Gupta models to China through this same agency. Frescoes and clay figures discovered by modern explorers bear witness to the enormous art output in that part of Asia, and many of them are very close to Indian originals<sup>3)</sup>, while others show that local craftsmen

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<sup>1)</sup> Grousset, R. *De la Grèce à la Chine*. p. 11, and pl. XV.

<sup>2)</sup> Grousset, R. *Footsteps*. p. 55.

<sup>3)</sup> Agrawala, V. S., "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchatrā, District Bareilly, U. P.". *Ancient India*, no. 4. July 1947. — Jun. 1948. pp. 104-179, and Kala, S. C. *Terracotta Figurines from Kausāmbī*, Allahabad, 1950.



used ideas of their own, especially in details. Stencils were employed by painters, and moulds by sculptors, both of which tended to keep the traditional quality of Buddhist art, which was, in its very nature, hieratic and inclined to copying formulae. As we have noted, in spite of that, local ethnic characteristics always made themselves felt, and folk-ways and preferences appeared in the different communities.

The Lesser Vehicle of Buddhism, the Hīnayāna, was prevalent in Kuchā in the dozen monasteries there which sheltered some 5,000 monks. This caused keen distress to Hsüan-tsang, for he adhered to the Greater Vehicle, the Mahāyana, and could not agree with the Kuchān monks on his visit of several months duration. He described two colossal images of the standing Buddha, over ninety feet high, one on either side of the highway at the west gate of the capital. They marked the place of religious gatherings for clergy and laity, important convocations attended by the king and by people who came from miles away. There were processions in which statues of the Buddha, adorned with pearls and silk embroideries, were brought on vehicles to the meeting place. All of the local monasteries took part in these processions, and the number of Buddha figures brought to the assembly exceeded a thousand.<sup>1)</sup>

Political Relations with China. — Twenty years later the Kuchāns aided Qarashahr in a rebellion which brought the wrath of the Chinese emperor on their heads.

He called a council to deliberate as to whether he should punish them; on that very night the moon eclipsed the Pleiades; an imperial edict was issued which said: "The moon is the essence of the *yin* principle; it presages the use of punishment; as for that constellation, it corresponds to the barbarian Hu people; the days they have to live draw to their close".<sup>2)</sup>

A large Chinese force and 100,000 cavalry of the thirteen Tölös tribes were put into the campaign.

In A.D. 648, Ho-lu, chief of the Western Turks, proposed to ride in the vanguard to guide the Chinese troops; he presented himself to the emperor, who gave him a banquet to which were invited civil and military officials of the first three classes. It was a joyous occasion, and the emperor gave Ho-lu delicate silks and took off his own coat to give him.<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 116.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 15.



It was a successful campaign for the Chinese and their Turkish allies for thousands of Kuchāns were killed and their troops dispersed, even their towns destroyed.

The emperor was pleased, and said in the presence of his assembled officers: "There are pleasures of many kinds, as I'm accustomed to say. Making mud walls and jumping on bamboos is the pleasure of children; decking oneself in gold and jewels, gauze and light silks is the joy of women; trafficking to transport products from the area where they are grown to a place which has them not is the pleasure of merchants; to have high position and great honor is the pleasure of superior men and high officials; to fight an enemy and win is the joy of generals and commanders; that the Four Seas should enjoy peace and unity is the pleasure of emperors and kings, and that is my real joy." Then he proposed a toast to all.<sup>1)</sup> (The Four Seas "was a purely figurative term, and referred to the vast territories that stretched beyond the confines of China, inhabited by uncivilized barbarians, good and evil spirits, and wild animals."<sup>2)</sup>

... A-shih-na brought the captive kings and offered them in the Temple of Imperial Ancestors; the emperor received the prisoners in the Tse-wei Hall; he reproached them before his assembled officers; all prostrated themselves and touched the floor with their foreheads; an imperial decree pardoned them and changed their residence to the Court of State Ceremonial. The king of Kuchā was given high rank in the military guard of the Left. For the first time the Protectorate of An-hsi, which was to govern Khotan, Toqmaq, and Kāshghar, was transferred to his capital. In 658, since the Western Countries were brought under control, the Emperor Kao-tsung sent commissioners in different directions to gather materials for a treatise, with maps, on the customs and products of those areas.<sup>3)</sup>

Resumption of Exchange with China. — In 674 to 675 the ruler of Kuchā sent tribute, including some famous horses, and he was given silk by the Chinese emperor; in 692 his successor came to render homage at the court. The interval between had been marked by Tibetan conquests in Central Asia, in which the Four Garrisons had been lost to China. After 692, when they were recovered, a garrison of 30,000 troops was maintained at Kuchā. It proved to be a great hardship to the people to provide for them in their isolated oasis; they petitioned the ruler of China, the Empress Wu to withdraw them, but she refused.<sup>4)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 117.

<sup>2)</sup> Cammann, S. "The TLV Pattern on Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty." In *JAOS*, Oct.-Dec., 1948, p. 161.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 117 and 119. Chavannes says this treatise is not known.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.



With this historical background in mind we find every reason for the frequent exchange of ideas, fashions and rare gifts between China and Central Asia in the seventh century. In the eighth century there are fewer notices of such exchanges: in 721, the king of Kuchā sent an envoy to offer horses and dogs, and in 728 when the Commissioner and Protector of An-hsi died, a gift of 500 pieces of silk was sent out for his funeral; in 739 came a petition from chiefs of tribes to the west of Kuchā asking to be included in the Four Garrisons as a part of the empire, an indication of the growing threat of Islam and the widespread unrest in Western Asia.<sup>1)</sup>

*Settlements to the West—Kāshghar and Toqmaq.* — Description of the Land and the People. — Kāshghar, lying west-south-west of Kuchā, was described as being:

more than 9,000 *li* from the capital. There are many sandy deserts there, and little arable land. The people are inclined to trickery and deceit. When a child is born, they (like the Kuchāns) compress the head to make it flat. They tattoo their bodies; the iris of their eyes is greenish. The royal house is allied with the Western Turks by marriage. There are 2,000 soldiers in the guard. The people sacrifice to the Heaven Deity (practice Mazdaism). In 635 the King of Kāshghar sent an ambassador to offer fine horses to the Son of Heaven; in 639 he made a gift of native products. The Tibetans took over in 676 to 678, but later, in the mid eighth century, in 753, a high dignitary made his way to China to render homage. He was given a violet robe and insignia in the shape of a fish.<sup>2)</sup>

The account of Hsüan-tsang tells very little more about the place except that this country was famous for felt and cloth and woolen material of excellent quality, as well as various kinds of fine, fleecy carpets. Though we cannot turn to contemporary painting or sculpture except that of nearby Tumshuq<sup>3)</sup> to help us in distinguishing Kāshgharians among the figurines, we may suppose that some of the Eastern Iranian types, especially rug merchants, might be from that community (Plate XVII).

Farther west by north from Kuchā was the small settlement of Toqmaq. Many barbarian Hu merchants from neighboring kingdoms live together there. To the west of Toqmaq are dozens of towns; all their chieftains have submitted

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 45, 49, 59, 60.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 121-2.

<sup>3)</sup> Grousset, R. *De la Grèce à la Chine*. Monaco, 1948 pls. 60-70, 72.



to the Western Turks. From Toqmaq to Tashkent the inhabitants wear woolen clothing and wrap the head in a silk cloth.<sup>1)</sup>

This gives us a clue to the identification of traders who wear turbans.

*The Western Turks and Their Vassals.* — It was near Toqmaq, to the northwest of the Issiq-köl, "Warm Lake" (Chinese Jo-hai), that Hsüan-tsang met the great khan of the Western Turks, T'ung the Yabghu, or T'ung Shih-hu, in the early part of the year 630.

*Early History.* — The earliest kingdom bearing the name of Turks was formed c. A.D. 552; before that, they had been slaves in iron mines and forges south of the Altai Mountains, serving the Juan-juan in the fifth century. They rebelled, freed themselves, and gradually became a power in Central Asia. In 569, envoys from Persia and the Roman Empire were sent to them, and one of the Wei family had been given in marriage to a chief of the Turks in 551, shortly after the Turkish success against the Juan-juan, and in 555 the remnant of the Juan-juan, taking refuge in Ch'ang-an, were turned over to the Turks who decapitated some 3,000 of them before the gates of the city.

*Clash with White Huns.* — The destruction of their former overlords now made the Turks neighbors of the Hephthalites in Central Asia, the White Huns who had become powerful in the Oxus basin in the mid-fifth century, and had menaced Sassanian Persia. The Hephthalites had extended their power in Turkestan as far as Khotan and Kāshghar, then north to Samarkand and Bokhārā, and south to Kāpīśa and Gandhāra by 520; it was they who destroyed the Buddhist monuments and beautiful sculpture of Haḍḍā. The arrival of the Turks in the middle of the sixth century turned the tide against the Huns. Persians and Turks formed an alliance to destroy them, and the Sassanian ruler married a daughter of the Turkic khan. Between 563 and 567 the White Huns were crushed, and the Persians and Turks divided their territories, the Turks taking Ferghāna and Sogdiana, the Persians Bactriana and Tocharistan, the Oxus river serving as a frontier between them. As the Sassanian power waned, the Turks pushed south to Kāpīśa and annexed the whole of the former territory of the Hephthalites.<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 120.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Op. cit.*, p. 221-9; and Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 79-80. See Appendix II.



Division of the Turks. — The division of the Turkic hordes between the Northern or Eastern group, and the Western, took place about 582. As the T'ang dynasty was being established in China, the Eastern group proved troublesome, necessitating a campaign into Mongolia against them; they were subdued in 630, and became vassals of the T'ang emperors until 682. The Turkish inscription of 732 to 735 found on the Orkhon River near ruins of edifices which must have been temples or "halls of ancestors" tells this story. After a recitation of the creation of Heaven and Earth, the rise of the Turkic khans as rulers is recalled:

They were wise khans, they were valiant khans; all their officers were wise, were brave; all their nobles, the whole people, in fact, were upright. That is why they could govern so great an empire and... establish law...

But after these khans died there were younger brothers not so wise as their older brothers who came to power, and officers and nobles were unworthy. Then it was that their sons became slaves of the Chinese, and their pure daughters were taken as serfs. The Turkic nobles gave up their own titles to swear allegiance to the Son of Heaven and receive titles of dignitaries from him. For fifty years they gave him their service and their strength, campaigning for him eastward and westward, ever valiant — but to him they had delivered their empire and their institutions.<sup>1)</sup>

Alliance with China. — The Western Turks escaped this fate until 657, when some scattered south and west, and others paid tribute to China. Before the middle of the seventh century they had controlled vast territories, and were reckoned to be formidable foes, or friends worth having; their khans sent officials to levy taxes and watch over kings of smaller western countries. In 620 the khan had requested a marriage alliance with a Chinese princess, and in 627 he had sent a belt of gold studded with ten thousand jewels, and the equally magnificent gift of 5,000 horses. The Chinese emperor pursued a policy of graciousness, for he had asked the advice of his ministers, and one had answered: "It is wise to ally oneself with those who are far away, and to fight those who are near."<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Thomsen, Vih. "Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées." *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. V, 1896, p. 80-99.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 25.



Description of the Land and People by Hsüan-tsang. — It was at about this time that the pilgrim was making his arduous way toward the heart of the territory controlled by the Western Turks. He had been provided with a letter of introduction to the khan by the ruler of Tur-fān, and had reason to think that this khan, T'ung the Yabghu, would be sympathetic toward his faith, for a predecessor had been converted to Buddhism about 580.

As he proceeded north of the Ts'ung-ling range he found the going very rugged, not only from physical difficulties, but also because of the demons and dragons that haunted the imagination of travelers at that time.

The gorges of the mountain retained their coldness spring and summer, and although there was the periodical melting, the freezing set in immediately; the path was dangerous, cold winds blew fiercely. There were many troubles from savage dragons who molested travellers: those going by this road could not wear red clothes or carry calabashes or make a loud noise; a slight provocation caused immediate disaster; fierce winds burst forth and there were flying sand and showers of stones; those who encountered these died, life could not be saved. A journey of over 400 *li* brought the pilgrim to a great clear lake above 1,000 *li* in circumference, longer from east to west than from north to south. The lake had hills on all sides and was the meeting place for various streams; its waters were of a deep azure hue and had a sharp brackish taste; it was a vast expanse with tumultuous billows. Fish and dragons lived in it pell-mell, and supernatural prodigies appeared in it occasionally...<sup>1)</sup>

This was the Issiq-köl; the monk went onward to the Thousand Springs; which he described as having

snowy mountains on its south side and level land on the other sides; it had rich mouldy soil and trees everywhere; in the latter part of spring the place was an embroidery of flowers. There were thousands of springs and hence the name of the district; the khan of the Turks came here every year to escape the summer heat. The place contained flocks of tame deer many of which wore bells and rings; the deer were cherished by the khan who forbade the slaughter of any of them under the penalty of capital punishment, and so the deer lived their natural lives.<sup>2)</sup>

The khan was on a hunting trip when Hsüan-tsang met him; he was delighted to see the monk, and invited him to stay in the encampment for the several days that he and his huntsmen would be away.

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<sup>1)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.



The Chinese pilgrim was much impressed by the khan and his military equipment which was very grand. The khan, he reported,

wore a green satin robe; his hair which was ten feet long was free: a band of white silk was wound round his forehead hanging down behind. The ministers of the presence, above 200 in number, all wearing embroidered robes, and with plaited hair, stood on his right and left. The rest of his military retinue were clothed in fur, serge, and fine wool, the spears and standards and bows in order, and the riders of camels and horses stretched far away out of sight.<sup>1)</sup>

Men with Braided Hair. — In our study of the figurines, the most significant part of the description is the braided hair of the khan's men, for a majority of the grooms attending horses and camels in the tomb sculpture wear plaits crossed at the back of the head (Plate XVIII *b* and frontispiece). This was not confined to the Western Turks; the T'o-pas and the Juan-juan had worn queues.<sup>2)</sup>

Grooms for Horses and Camels. — Turks, and vassals of the Turks, must have come in great numbers with the thousands of horses and camels which were offered to the Chinese court. This is given dramatic illustration in an episode in the reign of T'ai-tsung:

In 639, there was a conspiracy against the emperor's life, the work of Qachashar, a Turk, half-brother of Tutar Khan. He had planned to slay the emperor to avenge the destruction of Turkish power and pave the way for a revolt. Like many of the submitted Turkish khans, he was employed in the imperial stables, and this fact enabled him to enlist some forty confederates of his own race. The

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>2)</sup> Shiratori, K. "The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia", in the Memoirs of the Research Dept. of the Toyo Bunko, no. 4, Tokyo, 1929, p. 1-70; this reference from p. 17). "The various clans of the T'ieh-le (Turkish) race, comprising the Hui-ho (Uighurs), Yüeh-lu, and Sou-li-fa, etc., numbering over 1,000 families which are scattered about in the northern desert, sent their agents to the court to offer to be its subjects... as they were accepted, they undid their queues (*pien-fa*) and adopted the Chinese costume." We see the people was originally a queue-wearing one, at least in the T'ang period. (The quotation is from the *Chiu T'ang Shu*). Po-ya, king of Kao-ch'ang (Turfān) in the Sui period, had ordered his people to undo their *pien-fa*, and had been complimented by the Chinese emperor. (Ibid., p. 48) Shiratori suggests that some of the inhabitants of Turfān had stopped cutting their hair like their Kuchān neighbors because they were already influenced by the Turks to the north, who kept agents there to collect taxes from the merchants stopping in the oasis city, and, like the Turks, let their hair grow; on their submission to China, the symbol of their separation from Turkish power was the adoption of Chinese dress and hair-cut.



attempt failed, and he tried to escape to Mongolia on one of the fastest horses in the stable. He was caught, brought back to Ch'ang-an, and executed in the market place.<sup>1)</sup>

A figurine of an Altaic Turkish groom, Plate XVIII *a*, resembles the Turkish mourners depicted in the Pjandzhikent murals of Sogdiana.<sup>2)</sup>

Audience of Hsüan-tsang with the Khan. — To return, with Hsüan-tsang, to the encampment of T'ung of the Western Turks, we are told that after three days the khan arrived, and the Chinese monk was invited to his tent; this tent, ornamented with gold embroidery,

shone with a dazzling splendor, the ministers of the presence in attendance sat on mats in long rows one either side, all dressed in magnificent brocade robes, while the rest of the retinue on duty stood behind. You saw that although this was a case of a frontier ruler yet there was an air of distinction and elegance. The Khan came out from his tent about thirty paces to meet Hsüan-tsang, who after a courteous greeting, entered the tent. As the Turks are fire-worshippers they do not use wooden seats, we are told, as wood has the principle of fire, and they use double mats as seats; but for the pilgrim the khan provided an iron-framed bench with a mattress.

After a short interval envoys from China and Mao-ch'ang were admitted and presented their credentials and despatches which the khan perused. He was much elated and caused the envoys to be seated, then he ordered wine and music for himself and them, and grape-syrup for the pilgrim. Hereupon all pledged each other and the filling and the passing and the draining of the winecups made a din and a bustle, while the mingled music of various instruments rose loud: although the airs were the popular strains of foreigners yet they pleased the senses and exhilarated the mental faculties. After a little, piles of roasted beef and mutton were served to the others, and lawful food, such as cakes, milk, candy, honey, and grapes for the pilgrim.

After the entertainment grape-syrup was again served and the khan invited Hsüan-tsang to improve the occasion, whereupon the pilgrim expounded the doctrines of the "Ten virtues," compassion for animal life, and the Paramitas and emancipation.<sup>3)</sup>

Though this would seem to be the most unpromising time to speak to huntsmen, after such a carouse, on points of Buddhist doctrine, it is a tribute to the compelling power of the monk that he held their attention, and so impressed the khan that he raised his hands and bowed low, and invited his Chinese guest to stay permanently.

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<sup>1)</sup> Fitzgerald, C. *The son of Heaven*. Cambridge, 1933, p. 159.

<sup>2)</sup> Jakubovsky, A. J., and Djakonov, M. M., *Zivopis Dravnego Pjandzhikenta*, Akademia Nauk SSSR, Moscow, 1954, Pls. X-XII, and Glaesser, G. "Painting in Ancient Pjandzikent," East and West, Rome 1957, VIII/2, pp. 199-215.

<sup>3)</sup> Watters. Op. cit., p. 74-5.



When Hsüan-tsang declined, telling of his dream of going to India, the Holy Land of Buddhism, the khan tried to dissuade him on the grounds that the climate was too hot, so hot that he might not survive, and that the people were "black and contemptible, uncivilised." <sup>1)</sup> This is an interesting commentary on the lack of information about their fellow-man on the part of Asiatics of that time, for India, under her Gupta rulers (318 to 470) and Harṣa Chandragupta (605 to 647) had reached a Golden Age in literature, the drama, and other arts and sciences.

Again the monk declined to stay, vowing that he must follow his pilgrim's path to the land of the Buddha and the great centers of Buddhist learning. The khan then found a young man who could speak Chinese and other languages, and appointed him to go with the traveler as far as Kāpīśa in Kābul, bearing the letters of introduction to his friends along the way. He then presented his guest with a dark-red monk's robe, and fifty webs of soft silk, and saw him on his way, escorting him out about ten *li* in a procession of his ministers.

This was one of the last political acts of T'ung the Yabghu. Shortly after, news reached the Chinese court that he had been assassinated.

Diplomatic Exchange with China. — When the Emperor T'ai-tsung learned that the khan had been murdered he

sent men with gifts of jade and pieces of silk to the place where he died to offer them as sacrifice and burn them, but there was so much unrest in the area that the envoys did not complete their journey. <sup>2)</sup>

More Chinese silk was sent out into Central Asia in 632 when "an envoy of the second rank was sent to give the investiture to Mo-ho Sho (Bagha Šad) as khan of the Western Turks, and to give him a tambour, a standard, and 10,000 pieces of silk." <sup>3)</sup>

In 635 gifts came in the opposite direction, 500 horses sent from the khan, who requested a marriage alliance, to which the "court contented itself with offering encouragement and consolation and did not at all consent then to a marriage." <sup>4)</sup>

In 642 the khan of the Yen-t'o (Tarduš) tribe sent his uncle to contract a marriage, and offer 3,000 horses, 38,000 marten skins, and an agate mirror. The

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 25-6.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 4.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 27.



emperor agreed to a marriage with a daughter of the Imperial house, and invited the khan to make preparations for a personal meeting. The emperor was determined to be on good terms with men of far-away lands; he announced that he would go to Ling-chou for the meeting; the khan was overjoyed and let it be known throughout his realm. He then imposed taxes in sheep and horses on his tribes to be able to offer them to the emperor as an engagement present... The emperor then sent emissaries by three roads to take charge of the sheep and horses, but as the khan had no accumulated reserve, he had to requisition the animals throughout his kingdom; the trip out and back was nearly 10,000 *li*, and as there is no pasturage in the sandy desert, the sheep and horses escaped or died, and therefore did not arrive at the appointed time. The emperor therefore gave up his intended journey to Ling-chou and recalled the emissaries he had sent. When the engagement gift finally did arrive, almost half were in bad condition. In a consultation instituted by the emperor, it was finally decided to break off the projected marriage.<sup>1)</sup>

In the early eighth century there is a notice of particular interest from the point of view of the exchange of the arts in Central Asia.

In 733 Bilgä Khan sent a high official to the court to offer fifty horses and give thanks for favors received. That was because earlier, when the younger brother of the khan had died, Bilgä had sent to ask for skilled artists to paint his portrait. An imperial edict had sent six painters out to the Turks. Since the work of the painters was of incomparable excellence, such as had never been seen before in the lands of the Turks, each time Bilgä came to view their work he gave a long sigh as if his brother had come back to life, and wept uncontrollably. That is why he sent an envoy to give thanks and at the same time to escort the painters.<sup>2)</sup>

In the next year Bilgä died, and the emperor sent a dignitary to present his condolences, make a sacrifice, and build a temple; he also issued an order that a text be composed which was destined for the temple.<sup>3)</sup>

After the division of the Turkic clans there were still embassies going in both directions; the Chinese emperor generally sent out silk and embroideries, purple robes, and gold and silver belts, while the Turks reciprocated with horses and camels. In 740 the khan of the Turgäs, with his wife, sons, standard bearers and dignitaries, more than 100 persons, made the long journey to the capital to do homage at the court.<sup>4)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 8-11.

<sup>2)</sup> Pelliot, P. "Neuf Notes sur des Questions d'Asie Centrale." In T'oung Pao, Leiden, no. 26, 1929, p. 248.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 61.



The Islamization of the Turks came in the ninth and tenth centuries when the Iranian dynasty of the Samanids extended their power eastward.<sup>1)</sup>

The Sha-t'o Turks. — Of all their former Turkic allies the closest in later years were the Sha-t'o, so called by the Chinese because they were "people of the steppes." They were a branch of the Western Turks who had lived at one time in the old Wu-sun country, then in the Lake Barköl area; they had been driven eastward by the Tibetans, where some of them joined the Uighurs. Together they helped the Chinese government fight An Lu-shan in his rebellion of 755. Some of them remained in Shensi until 810; another group went over to the Tibetans, and then attempted to build an empire of their own, but they again had to submit to the Chinese, and joined the Shensi Turks. Another division took place, splitting them into three parts, one going into Shensi, another into northern Kansu, and the last into the eastern part of the Ordos steppe. In the tenth century the Sha-t'o of the Ordos had become strong enough to overthrow the "later Liang Dynasty" in 923, and establish their own, the Later T'ang, Later Chin and Later Han (923 to 950).

They, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, had two religions; they worshipped the Buddha and the old Turkish God of Heaven. In the plastic arts they turned to the T'o-pa Tatars for their inspiration in sculpture, regarding it as a great art rather than as a craft as the Chinese were inclined to. Even in warfare their love of music and dancing was so strong that one of their rulers insisted on being accompanied by troops of musicians and dancers. They played the three-stringed Hunnic fiddle and the Tibetan flute.

They lived in circular tents like other Turks, Mongols and Khitans. In hunting they used falcons, and singing arrows (cut with a hole in the arrowhead to produce a whistling sound). They played football, but are not spoken of as famous wrestlers, though wrestling was popular in the tenth century in China.

Though they had fought often in the forefront of the Chinese armies, they lived in China at the time when the strength of the T'ang rulers had ebbed, and they saw the dissolution of the once great empire in the tenth century.<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Barthold, W. *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*. Paris, 1945. p. 4.

<sup>2)</sup> Eberhard, W. "Some Cultural Traits of the Sha-t'o Turks." In *Oriental Art*, vol. I, no. 2, Autumn of 1948, p. 50-55.



*Ferghāna*. — The Land and the People. — Prized by Turks and Chinese alike, the famous horses of Central Asia played their important part in warfare and in peace-time pageantry. West-south-west of the Issiq-köl, where the Western Turks had foregathered, lay the land of Ferghāna whence came some of the most splendid stallions of the royal stables of the T'ang. Of Ferghāna the T'ang history had said:

The people there live to be quite old. The dynasty has ruled since the Wei (220 to 264) and the Tsin (265 to 419). Each New Year the king and chieftains divide into two groups, and each group chooses one man to represent them. He dons his cuirass and meets the other in combat. The crowd joins in with brick and stones. As soon as one of them dies, they stop to augur whether the year will be good or bad.<sup>1)</sup>

Diplomatic Ties with China. — Though a vast distance separated Ferghāna and China, they had close diplomatic ties. In spite of troubled times in the early seventh century, an ambassador was sent to the Middle Kingdom between 656 and 660 to carry tribute. In 658 the emperor delivered a diploma of investiture to the king, who regularly sent a representative to court and carried gifts to China.

Chinese Princess Given in Marriage to King of Ferghāna. — This faithfulness was rewarded in 744 when a princess of the Imperial line was given as wife to the king with the following decree:

You, Lan Ta-kan (Arslan Tarqan) are resolved to take as your model the transformation wrought by the imperial court, you have sworn to be the protector of our frontier, you know our orders and instructions well, and you are worthy of confidence; you have acquitted yourself honorably in your duties and tribute which has come regularly, your sincerity has been so marked that you are drawn into the empire; the honors that I shall give you are different from those that I give to your neighbors. I therefore give to you an admirable wife to make manifest my exceptional favor toward you; she is the fourth daughter of my fourth cousin... In her person she possesses as natural gifts both modesty and reserve; her character is pure and excellent; she has been well instructed; she is the light of our Imperial Household; certainly she should be able to maintain unity between us and your barbaric court; she will be capable of establishing harmony between all the principalities. She must acquit herself of the duty of fostering good relations with distant peoples as well as be witness of our affection for an illustrious stranger; therefore she shall be known as princess of Ho-i, and she shall be given in marriage to the "king who accepts the transformation," king of Ning-yüan (Ferghāna).<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*, p. 148.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 73-74.



She must have been worthy of her heavy responsibility, for the tribute continued to reach China; in 751, for instance, the king sent twenty-two horses, a leopard, and a dog.<sup>1)</sup> Tashkent, (Che or Shih) also sent horses, and possibly the turquoise for which the mountains there were famous.

*Samarkand.* — The Land and the People. — Chinese power extended farther west in the seventh century when Samarkand and Bokhārā were given diplomas of investiture in 650 and 656 respectively.<sup>2)</sup> Samarkand

which the Chinese call Sa-mo-chien, or simply K'ang, the name of all the Sogdian region, was a very ancient city in the seventh century, since it is already found mentioned, under the name of Marakanda, at the time of Alexander the Great... The language spoken there was an East-Iranian dialect, Sogdian, which followed in the wake of the caravans from Samarkand across the tracks of the Gobi as far as Tun-huang.<sup>3)</sup>

Sogdians of the seventh century are depicted in murals of Pjandzhikent, discovered by Russian archaeologists in 1948, 68 kilometers from Samarkand. This was the last town on the road from the capital city to settlements in the mountains. Within the walls some 1,800 meters in length were ruins of 60 or 70 important edifices, such as palaces, temples, and houses. Numerous Sogdian coins dating from the seventh and eighth centuries, and the absence of a Moslem burial ground, would indicate that the town flourished before the battle of Talas in 751 when the Moslem forces were victorious. Zoroastrian tombs and Manichaean frescoes now substantiate other records of religious practice there, and the illustrations of a funeral portray the Western Turks and descendants of the Yüeh-chih mourning for a prince. Ethnic types, costumes, and fabric designs are of particular interest in visualizing the glory of ancient Samarkand.<sup>4)</sup>

There are thirty big cities and 300 small places. The people were originally the Yüeh-chih driven from Kansu... The soil is fertile and produces excellent cereals. This is the land of fine horses. It is a great military power. The people of the different principalities love wine; they enjoy singing and dancing in the streets. The king has a felt hat which he adorns with gold and different jewels. The women wear their hair in a knot; they wear black bonnets to which

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>2)</sup> Grousset. *Hist. de l'Ext. Orient.* p. 274.

<sup>3)</sup> Grousset. *Footsteps.* p. 77.

<sup>4)</sup> Jakubovsky. *Op. cit.*, p. 121-141, pls. XV-XXIII.



they sew gold flowers. The people write in horizontal lines. They excel in commerce and love profits; from the time a man is twenty years old he goes into neighboring principalities; wherever one can make money they have gone. <sup>1)</sup>

A more recent description of the city with its wall, gates, and shrines is given by Barthold. <sup>2)</sup> Russian excavation has revealed more about the people and their dress, which was Iranian in cut and cloth. <sup>3)</sup>

Textile Manufacture. — It is probable that some of the silk fabrics found in the walled-up chapel of the caves of the Thousand Buddhas in Tun-huang came from this country: in design they are almost pure Sassanian, with the addition of a few Far Eastern motifs. Such a combination seems quite likely in Central Asia, in a country just east of Persia. <sup>4)</sup>

Religious Practices. — Of their religious practices and folk-ways the T'ang history had recorded:

The twelfth month is for them the beginning of the year. They honor the Buddhist religion; they sacrifice to the Heaven God (Āhurā Mazdā). They have some very ingenious machines. In the eleventh month they beat the drums and dance to bring on cold weather; they throw water on each other in a very amusing way. <sup>5)</sup>

Supplementing this, Chavannes draws upon the *T'ung tien* written in the eight century by Tu Yu (735 to 813):

These people are skillful merchants; when a boy reaches the age of five he is put to studying books; when he begins to understand them, he is sent to study commerce; to make money is considered by most of the inhabitants to be an excellent thing. These people love music. They count the first day of the sixth month the beginning of the year (this would seem to refer to the Persian calendar); when this day comes, the king and the people put on new clothes and cut their hair and beards; in a forest to the east of the capital they engage in mounted archery for seven days; when the last day comes, a gold coin on a sheet of paper serves as a target; whoever wins it becomes king for a day. They have a cult honoring the Heaven God. They say that the divine infant died in the seventh month and that they have lost his body (literally, his bones); the men in charge of the cult put on black clothes, and go barefoot, beating their breasts, and lamenting, weeping. Men and women, from 300 to 500

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 133-5.

<sup>2)</sup> Barthold. *Op. cit.*, p. 83-92.

<sup>3)</sup> Jakubovsky. *Op. cit.*, pls. XXXVII-XXXIX.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein. *Serindia*. Vol. II, p. 909.

<sup>5)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 135.



of them, go searching through the fields to recover the body of the heavenly child; the seventh day this ceremony ends. Outside of the capital there are, living in carts, more than 200 families who specialize in funerals; these people have built a stronghold in an isolated place in which they raise dogs; each time a person dies they take his corpse, place it in this enclosure, and let it be devoured by the dogs. After that they gather up the bones and perform a burial.<sup>1)</sup>

Tu Yu had gained his information from a relative Tu Huan who had been taken prisoner by the Arabs in 751 in Samarkand, and had thence gone to Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, and back to China by way of Canton.<sup>2)</sup>

Both Sogdians and Turks are represented in the Pjandzhikent murals. In contrast to the ruddy faces of the Turks, with their high cheek bones and prominent noses, the Sogdians appear to have delicately modelled features, the nose straight, the small mouth framed by moustache and pointed beard. On each side of the face a long lock of straight black hair hangs to the breast; unlike the men of Kuchā with their hair parted in the center, these gentlemen seem to have cut the hair in a straight fringe across the forehead. They wear tunics of Sassanian cut and fabric design. With their dignity of posture and gesture, they present a picture of extraordinary elegance<sup>3)</sup>. Though not as aristocratic as the great lords, a figurine of a groom (Plate XII c) represents a man of Sogdian appearance.

In 630, when Hsüan-tsang passed that way, he was impressed by the commercial activity, and by the fertility of the soil, the beauty of trees and flowers, and the great numbers of fine horses. The people were skillful craftsmen, smart and energetic, and were much respected by their neighbors. The king was a man of spirit and courage, obeyed by other petty rulers in the area; he was allied by marriage to the khan of the Western Turks, and like the khan, he had a splendid army. Culturally, the place was much influenced by Persia; many of the inhabitants were Zoroastrians (Fire-worshippers); Buddhism had gained a foothold there, but the Chinese monk found only two monasteries on his visit, and met with opposition when he went to perform a religious service in one of them. The king punished the evil-doers, and allowed him to hold a service for ordination for priests to serve the monasteries.<sup>4)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>2)</sup> Pelliot, P. "Des Artisans chinois à la Capitale abbaside en 751-762." *T'oung Pao*, vol. 26, 1929, p. 110-111.

<sup>3)</sup> Jakubovsky. *Op. cit.* Pls. XXXIV-XXXIX, and Glaesser. *Op. cit.*

<sup>4)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 94-5.



Relations with China. — Relations with China were cordial in the early eighth century. In 718 the King of Samarkand sent a coat of mail, a vase of rock crystal, an agate bottle, some ostrich eggs, and some dwarfs from "Yüeh-no." For the year 724, it is recorded that, "The King of Samarkand sent an ambassador to offer a dwarf, two horses, and two dogs."<sup>1</sup> From Mi (Maimargh or Maimurgh), west of Samarkand, a caravan<sup>2</sup> set out in 718 bearing carpets, brass, precious rings, mats, lions, and dancers — the women of the Hu, noted as performers of the Hu-hsüan-wu, the Foreign Whirlwind Dance.<sup>3</sup>

Between Samarkand and Bokhārā was the Ho country renowned for a pavilion of several storeys in which there were wall paintings. On the north, the ancient emperors of China, on the east, the princes and kings of the Turks and Hindus, on the west, those of Persia and Syria. Between 650 and 655 the king furnished grain to the Chinese troops and gained great merit.<sup>4</sup>

*Bokhārā.* — Relations with China. — Still famous for its carpets, Bokhārā is situated in this same region. The "Royal Road" between Samarkand and Bokhārā was much traveled, a journey from six to seven days.<sup>5</sup> Between 618 and 626 an ambassador was sent to the distant court of China to render homage; from 627 to 649 they sent "products of the country"; T'ang T'ai-tsung encouraged the ambassador strongly and said:

"The Western Turks have submitted, the caravans of merchants may start on their way." The people were well satisfied. The king sent famous horses; in 726 the king sent his younger brother A-si-lan (Arslan) to the court to offer horses and leopards. Eight years later, he offered two little Persian mules, an embroidered carpet from Syria, some perfumes and some sugar candy. The king's wife sent two embroidered carpets. They asked in return for tunics and belts, breastplates and weapons, as well as vests, robes, perfume and ornaments for her.<sup>6</sup>

Here, then, is further evidence for the exchange of clothes between China and a western land which fostered the change of fashion in the eighth century.

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 45-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 34; and Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Ishida, M. "Études sino-iranniennes I: à propos du Hu-hsüan-wu." In the Toyo Bunko Research Dept., no. 6, Tokyo, 1932, p. 61-76; a translation and condensation is given in Appendix V.

<sup>4</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Barthold, W. *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*. London, 1928. p. 96-100.

<sup>6</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 137-8.



Waning of Chinese Influence after 751. — By the middle of the century Arab conquest in the Bokhārā-Samarkand area had become a serious threat to Chinese influence. Accompanied by intrigue, bloodshed, and political upsets, Islam came to the Oxus country which was drawn into the Sunnite-Shi'ite controversy. In the course of this struggle, the empire of the Western Turks was broken up. Local battles involving Arabs, Persians, Turks and the native population were fought bitterly by all factions.<sup>1)</sup>

The Arabs with Turks and other allies met the Chinese in combat in 751 at Talas when Ziyād ben Sālih al Khuzār'i defeated Kao Hsien-chih and his Chinese expeditionary force. The Arabic historians claimed that 50,000 Chinese were killed and 20,000 taken prisoner, but the Chinese records had given 30,000 as the number of the entire force.<sup>2)</sup>

This marked the end of Chinese political domination in Bokhārā, but she had left a lasting impression on its industry and culture. The people

possessed everything in abundance, and were dependent for nothing on the produce of other lands. Industry was undoubtedly developed under Chinese influence... The Arab conquerors found numerous Chinese products in the country, the sale of which must have decreased with the development of local industries... The impression made on the Muslims by the skill of the Chinese craftsmen is evident from the fact that subsequently the Arabs called all artistically worked vessels Chinese.<sup>3)</sup>

This brings to mind the words of the Arab Abū Zayd: "Of all the creatures of Allah, the Chinese have hands most gifted in designing and fashioning things; for making all sorts of things, there is no people on earth who can do so well as they."<sup>4)</sup>

*Nomadic Traders and Khorezmians.* — Nomadic tribes came to trade in the Samarkand-Bokhārā country-side and bazaars. This trade

was of great importance, a large quantity of cattle for slaughter and of pack animals being obtained in this way. Trade with the settled people was indeed indispensable for the nomads, who received in this way clothing and grain.

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<sup>1)</sup> Barthold. Op. cit., p. 192-195.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>4)</sup> Ferrand, G. *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine*. Paris, 1922. p. 84.



Here, as in China and Russia, the nomads themselves drove their herds to the frontiers of the neighboring settlements without awaiting the arrival of caravans in the steppes. . . . The Khorezmians (people of Ho-li-simi) became the chief representatives of the trading class in Khurāsān; in every city of that district they were to be met in considerable numbers, distinguished from the local inhabitants, as now, by their high fur caps.<sup>1)</sup>

This gives us a clue as to the origin of men wearing high fur caps (Plates XIX and XX). They must have come from the Oxus country, near the Aral sea, in the land close to the northeastern border of Persia; in appearance they must have resembled the other Eastern Iranians, with their prominent noses and deep-set eyes.

No doubt they, and the merchants of Samarkand and Bokhārā, were among the "Caravaniers" who carried their wares into China. The variety of it summons to the imagination all the color of Eastern trade.

From Bukhārā, soft fabrics, copper lamps, Tabarī tissues, horse girths . . . grease, sheepskins, oil for anointing the head . . . From Khorezmia, sables, miniver, ermines, and the fur of the steppe foxes, martens, beavers, spotted hares, and goats; also wax, arrows, birch bark, high fur caps, fish glue, fish teeth, castoreum, amber, prepared horse hides, honey, hazel nuts, falcons, swords, armor, khalanj wood, Slavonic slaves, sheep and cattle, grapes, raisins, almond pastry, sesame, fabrics of striped cloth, carpets, blanket cloth, satin for royal gifts and other fabrics, bows which only the strongest could bend, cheese, yeast, fish, boots. From Samarkand is exported silver-colored fabrics and Samarqandi stuffs, large copper vessels, artistic goblets, tents, stirrups, bridle heads and straps . . . satin which is exported to the Turks, and red fabrics, many silks and silken cloth, hazel and other nuts; from Ferghāna and Isfijāb, Turkish slaves, white fabrics, arms, swords, copper and iron . . . From Turkestan, horses and mules. There is nothing to equal the meats of Bukhārā, and a kind of melon called ash-shāq (or ash-shāf), nor the bows of Khorezmia, the porcelains of Shāsh, and the paper of Samarqand.<sup>2)</sup>

Samarqand paper is of special importance in the history of civilization. According to Muslim accounts it was from Chinese craftsmen taken prisoner by Ziyād in 751 that the Samarqandians learned how to manufacture paper . . . Toward the end of the tenth century Samarqand paper had already succeeded in entirely replacing papyrus and parchment in the Muslim countries.<sup>3)</sup>

Of the melon export, Tha'ālibī (active in the early eleventh century) speaks of the Khorezmian watermelons which were exported to the court of two ninth century caliphs "in leaden moulds packed with

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<sup>1)</sup> Barthold. *Op. cit.*, p. 237-8.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235-6; from the Arab geographer Maqdisi, c. 985.

<sup>3)</sup> Barthold. *Op. cit.*, p. 236-7.



snow." <sup>1)</sup> They were, of course, going in a south-westerly direction, not to China, but it gives us a hint of the luxury and trading activity of the time.

From Khorezmia in 751 an ambassador arrived in China to present black salt to the court. It was reported that those people alone of the Western nations attached oxen to carts, and their "merchants ride in these vehicles to travel to various lands." <sup>2)</sup> Perhaps the Westerners with the oxcarts belong to that group (Plates XXI and XXII). They fit well into the Eastern Iranian racial type, and look like traders of a lowly and bedraggled sort rather than envoys or dignitaries of importance. They, and men in the high peaked hats seem to be indeed from the same land, as we would surmise from these references. They must have penetrated far in a westerly direction, too, for "a number of ancient coins, and many silver bowls and dishes of the sixth to eighth centuries found in different parts of the basins of the Volga and Kama rivers were brought from Khorezm." <sup>3)</sup>

Tribute from Kesh. — From Kesh (Che, modern Shahr-isäbz in present-day South Uzbekistan) in 727, the local prince sent dancing girls and spotted leopards. It is noted in the T'ang annals that there was a great temple in the city, and each time they sacrificed to the god they offered a thousand sheep; each time before setting out to battle they implored the help of this god and then started out. <sup>4)</sup>

*Tocharistan.* — Four hundred *li* to the south in Tocharistan, were the Gates of Iron, high in the mountains, that separate two kingdoms. They serve as the pass between the Kashgar-darya valley and the Amudarya through the Hissar range of the Qarategin mountains. Hsüan-tsang went that way and reported that his path was but a narrow risky trail; there were no inhabitants and little grass or water. Along the Gates of Iron on either side were high precipitous mountains. The rocks were of an iron color; when gates had been set up, they were strengthened with iron, and numerous small bells of cast iron were hung on them. The name it bears was given to the pass on account of its

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 145.

<sup>3)</sup> Altman, V. "Ancient Khorezmian Civilization in the Light of the Latest Archaeological Discoveries (1937-45)". In JAOS, vol. 67, no. 2, April-June, 1947, p. 82.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 146.



impregnable nature, and the Turks took care to maintain it in that way, for it allowed them to control all the traffic between India and Central Asia. <sup>1)</sup>

Description in the T'ang Annals. — The T'ang history reports that the population there is sedentary; there are few girls and many boys. They have 100,000 soldiers in the elite guard. The king has the title of Jabgou. In 650 they sent to the court some big birds, seven feet high, black in color, with feet like camels, who walk with wings outstretched, and cover 300 *li* a day. They can swallow fire, and are generally called bird-camels (ostriches). In 705 the king sent his younger brother to the court to do homage, and he was kept in the bodyguard. <sup>2)</sup>

Diplomatic Exchange with China. — During the K'ai-yüan and T'ien-pao eras (713 to 755) various emissaries were sent. In 719 a high dignitary appeared with a lion and a five-color parakeet, and a little later, another came with two lions and two antelopes.

The emperor, recognizing that the envoy had come from far away to bring tribute, gave him a banquet, congratulated him, and made him a present of 500 pieces of silk. . . Two months later a message came from the king to the emperor requesting that he be allowed to send a man profoundly versed in astronomy and learned in the sciences. <sup>3)</sup>

This was the Manichaeian who was allowed to build a church in the capital.

Manichaeism. — In regard to the spread of Manichaeism from that country von le Coq commented :

The district of Tocharistan in Khorasan, in the neighborhood of Balkh, was for a long time a stronghold of that sect. Manichaeian ambassadors from there succeeded, as early as the eighth century, in crossing China to the court of the King of the Uighurs and in converting this powerful prince to their religion. <sup>4)</sup>

In 729, from the same country, the monk Nan-t'o was sent with drugs; in 738, a high dignitary arrived with gifts, products of the country; he was given a red robe, a silver girdle, a purse for the insignia in the shape of a fish, and thirty pieces of silk, and then started on his way home. In 746, the king sent a present of forty horses. Altogether, over a forty year period, Tocharistan sent horses, mules,

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<sup>1)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 101-102.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 155.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 38-41.

<sup>4)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*. p. 35.



200 kinds of strange drugs, some sandalwood, precious red stones, and some glass.<sup>1)</sup> The glass brings to mind some of the handsome Syrian glass found to the south at Bégram, Afghanistan, by the the French Delegation, which is proof of its being brought into that area.<sup>2)</sup>

Military Aid to China. — In the beginning of the Ch'ien-yüan era (758 to 759) the loyal ruler of Tocharistan and nine other principalities sent soldiers across the long route to China to help the Son of Heaven in his struggle with rebels in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>3)</sup>

*Wakhān.* — Description of the Country that lies in one of the Great Valleys of the Western Pamir. — The people and king of Wakhān (Hu-mi), to the east of Tocharistan and formerly a part of it, also paid tribute to China. Of that land the T'ang history says:

It is a cold country, the ground freezes, and it is a rocky, sandy country as well. They raise beans and grain; it is a good place for trees and fruit, and excellent horses. The people have eyes with greenish irises. In 720 the emperor gave the title of king to the ruler; in 728 were sent products of the country; in 730 the king himself came as an act of homage and brought gifts from his homeland; he was given silks, as well as robes, belts with silver ornaments, and he was retained as a member of the bodyguard. In 733, an ambassador arrived; he was given a banquet, made a general of the guard of the Left, and given seven gifts including a violet robe, a belt, the purse for insignia in the shape of a fish, and 100 pieces of silk. In 741, when a new king ascended the throne, he came all the way to China to render homage, and was received with honor. A banquet was given for him, he was named a general in the guard of the Left, and was given a violet robe and a golden girdle. In 749 and 758 (after the defeat of the Chinese by the Arabs) the members of the royal house continued to go to China with tribute, and on the last trip the king was given the Chinese name of Li.<sup>4)</sup>

Hsüan-tsang had gone through that country a hundred years earlier, and reported:

"These somber valleys and dangerous peaks are covered with eternal snow and ice, and a cold wind rages around them . . . The forest trees are few and far between, and flowers and fruit are rare. (Just the opposite of the historical account). On the other hand, the soil produces large quantities of onions, whence the Chinese name for Pamir, Ts'ung-ling, Onion Mountains." Hsüan-tsang also no-

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 50, 57, 76; and *Documents*. p. 157-8.

<sup>2)</sup> For the glass see: Grousset. *De la Grèce à la Chine*. Pl. I, in color.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 158.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 164-5; and *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 51, 55, and 82.



ted that in certain parts of these valleys the inhabitants have eyes of greenish blue. Possibly we have here the descriptions of some Pamir tribes who are nearly related to the ancient Sogdians. . . . " In the middle of the Pamir valley is a large lake (Lake Zorköl, or Victoria), situated in the center of the world . . . The basin of this lake lies extraordinarily high. Its waters are as pure and clear as a mirror, and no one has ever been able to sound their depths. They are blue-black in color, and are sweet and pleasant to the taste. In their depths live dog-fish, and dragons, and tortoises. On the surface are ducks, wild geese, and cranes. Eggs of a large size are found in the wild plains of the district, sometimes also in the swampy fields and on the sandy islands. " <sup>1)</sup>

*Kāpīša, Bāmiyān, Kābul and Haḍḍā.* — South and west of the Wakhān country, in the direction of Bactria and its former Hellenistic civilization, lay Kāpīša, Bāmiyān, Kābul and Haḍḍā, all important sites for the study of Buddhist art. In those places, where the ideas of India, Sassanian Persia, and the Greco-Buddhist worlds met and fused to produce images for the Buddhist pantheon, there still remain relics dating back to ancient days (See Appendix II). These bear witness to the energy and faith that went into the activity in the arts in that whole area. Thanks to archaeologists, especially those of the French Delegation to Afganistan, we can see the remains in architecture, sculpture, painting and the minor arts which had a profound influence on the oasis cities of Central Asia and on China itself.

Caravan Trade. — From northwest India through this very country, and thence across the trade routes to the Middle Kingdom, the bearers of Buddhist doctrine and Buddhist images had made their way. <sup>2)</sup>

Description in T'ang History. — The T'ang history gives us an idea of what China knew of these lands; of Zabulistan it said:

To the east is Kāpīša, to the northeast is Bāmiyān, which are both 400 *li* away, to the south are the Hindus, and to the west, Persia . . . The king lives in the city of Gazna. There are many plants of " *curcuma longa* " or saffron, and " *dianthus superbus*. " The fields are irrigated by bubbling streams. The people are a mixture of Turks, Kapišans, and Tocharians. In 710 an envoy was sent to China to offer homage; in 720 the Son of Heaven conferred the title of king on the ruler. During the T'ien-pao era (742 to 755) this kingdom rendered homage and carried gifts to the court many times.

Bāmiyān (Fan-yen-na) is a cold country; the people live in caves . . . There are four or five big cities. A river flows north and empties into the Oxus. In

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<sup>1)</sup> Grousset. *Footsteps*. p. 225-7.

<sup>2)</sup> Appendix I on Travelers.



627 this country sent an ambassador to offer homage to the court. In 658 the city of Lo-lan was made the seat of government for the Sie-fong district, and the king of Pe was given title of governor and given charge of the military affairs of the five districts in that area. From that moment on the country never neglected to pay homage and offer gifts.<sup>1)</sup>

This constant sending of caravans to China from the early seventh century, explains, I believe, how the arts of north-eastern Afghanistan could be well known in China, and help to bring a marked change in style of Buddhist and secular art in the Celestial Empire.

Famous for its two colossal rock-cut Buddhas and its many monasteries, Bāmiyān was described by several Chinese pilgrims. Hsüan-tsang had said:

it is in the midst of the Snowy Mountains, and its inhabitants taking advantage of the mountains and defiles had their towns in strong places. The capital, which was built on a steep bank and across a defile, had a steep cliff on its north side and was six or seven *li* in length. The country was very cold; it yielded early wheat, had little fruit or flowers, but had good pasturage for sheep and horses. The people had harsh rude ways; they mostly wore furs and serges, which were of local origin. Their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of Tokharistan, and they resembled the people of that country in appearance but differed from them in their spoken language. In honesty of disposition they were far above the neighboring countries, and they made offerings and paid reverence with perfect sincerity to all Buddhist holy objects. Traders coming and going on business, whether the gods show favorable omens or exhibit sinister manifestations, pay worship (seek religious merit).<sup>2)</sup>

If traders from Bāmiyān are represented by the makers of the Chinese figurines, they must be like the other mountain folk of the Afghan type, who might have worn furs and wool even in China.

The colossal statues of the Buddha, one about 175 feet high, and the other about 120 feet high, still are to be seen in the cliff that rises above the valley. Each in its huge niche looks like a giant key-hole surrounded by smaller openings which honeycomb the mountain; the smaller openings lead to chambers and temples used by the monks in the local religious foundations.

Relations with China. — Kāpīśa, ancient seat of kings, had been known in China in the Sui period as Ts'ao. The T'ang records report:

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 161-2.

<sup>2)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 115.



It is warm and humid; the men there ride elephants; they follow the law of the Buddha. In 619 the king sent an Ambassador to bring tribute consisting of a belt studded with jewels, some rock crystal, glass objects (again reminding us of the finds at Bégram, not far away)<sup>1)</sup> and a golden clasp and some wine. From 627 to 649 they sent famous horses... In 719 an ambassador arrived with an astronomical text, magic formulae, and mysterious drugs. In 745 the emperor approved the king's son succeeding to the throne, making him king of Kāpiśa and Uḍḍiyana; he, in turn sent to China some silken dancer's mats. In 758 an ambassador came to offer homage and gifts.<sup>2)</sup>

Dancer's mats had been sent from Mi (Maimargh) in 718,<sup>3)</sup> mats of Persian design, and we can see how they were used in the Paradise scenes of the Tun-huang caves, where Hindu dancers with floating scarves perform on small oval or oblong mats before the assembled Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.<sup>4)</sup> One is conscious of the strong influence of India on all Chinese arts relating to Buddhism; dance forms, especially, demonstrate the difference between religious and secular taste, for it was the violent acrobatic dance of the Hu-hsüan which amused Chinese courtiers and commoners alike, rather than the sinuous grace of the Hindu style of temple dancing.

Hsüan-tsang's Description. — Hsüan-tsang had been impressed by the products of the country, and by the uncouth ways of the local people. After describing the location of the capital, the ancient summer residence of kings, he said:

It yielded various cereals, and fruit and timber, and excellent horses and saffron: many rare commodities from other regions were collected in this country; its climate was cold and windy; the people were of rude, violent disposition, used coarse vulgar language, and married in a miscellaneous manner... For inner clothing they wore woolen cloth and for their outer garments skins and serge.

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<sup>1)</sup> Hackin, J. *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bégram, 1939-40*; Mém. de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, T. XIV, Paris, 1954, 2 vols. Ghirshman, R. "Fouilles de Bégram." In *Journal Asiatique*, 1943-45; Grousset, R. *De la Grèce à la Chine*. pl. 1 in color. Ghirshman, R. *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, T. LXXIX = Mém. de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan T. XII, Le Caire, 1946, and *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, same series, T. LXXX-XIII, resp. le Caire, 1948.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 130-2; *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 74.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145; *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>4)</sup> Pelliot, P. *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*. vol. II, pl. LXXXIV, cave 51; pl. XCIV, cave 53 B; vol. V, pl. CCCIII and CCCIV, cave 139 A; vol. VI, pl. CCCXXX, cave 168.



Their gold, silver, and small copper coins differed in style and appearance from those of other countries. The king... was an intelligent, courageous man, and his power extended over more than ten of the neighboring lands; he was a benevolent ruler and an adherent of Buddhism. He made every year a silver image of Buddha eighteen feet high... and he gave liberally to the needy and to widows and widowers. There were above 100 monasteries with more than 6,000 monks who were chiefly Mahāyānists; the stūpas and monasteries were lofty and spacious and kept in good order. Of Deva-temples there were some tens, and above 1,000 followers including those who wear wreaths of skulls as head ornaments. <sup>1)</sup>

This reminds us of the many times that Kāpiśa had been taken over by foreigners in the numerous invasions of its history in the Greco-Parthian eras, <sup>2)</sup> and later; the Hephthalites had established themselves there in the second half of the fifth century. Kushans, Romans, Hindus and Huns had played their parts in the unfolding drama of this summer retreat; it is small wonder that the Chinese monk was struck by the polyglot people who "married in a miscellaneous manner." The king, at least, was a superior man and an ardent Buddhist.

Hindu Cults. — It is significant, also, that Hsüan-tsang mentions followers of popular Hindu cults, the skull wearers and their Deva-temples. Here he had come to India proper, to the land where the gentle teaching of the Buddha was beginning to lose its hold on the populace, and the ancient gods of terror and violence, gods who required propitiation and utter adoration, spells and incantations, would increase in power within the next few centuries.

After staying in Kāpiśa for some months he continued his journey eastward through a very mountainous region to Lan-po (Lampaka), which had, on the north, the snow mountains, and on the other side, black ranges. He noted that it produced upland rice and sugar-cane, but little fruit. The climate was mild, with little frost and no snow, the inhabitants were easy-going and very musical, but pusillanimous and deceitful, ugly and ill-mannered; their clothing was made chiefly of cotton, and they dressed well. He found about ten monasteries there, mostly of the Mahāyāna sect, but there were also many temples and adherents of Hindu faith. <sup>3)</sup> A Brahmin from the Lampa country was reputed to have gone to China, and, in the year A.D. 700, assisted in

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<sup>1)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 123. See Appendix II.

<sup>2)</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>3)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 181.



the translation from Sanskrit into Chinese of a treatise of magical invocations.<sup>1)</sup>

The pilgrim continued his travels in a southeasterly direction across a mountain range to the Nāgar, another dependency of Kāpīśa. Again he reported that the country was surrounded on all sides by high mountains, and that the climate was mild, with grain and fruit prospering in that locale. In contrast to his unfavorable description of the Lampaka people, he noted that here they were of good character, courageous, thrifty, reverencing the Buddha, and having little faith in other religious systems. Some two *li* to the east was a marvellous stone stūpa over 300 feet high, adorned with beautiful sculpture, said to have been built by the Emperor Aśoka centuries before; on feast days there were showers of flowers which caused it to be called the Flower Stūpa; it was regarded with great reverence, as were the other famous monuments in the area most of them associated with the miracles or relics of the historical Buddha who had actually been there.<sup>2)</sup>

Haḍḍā Stūpas and Sculpture. — It is significant that he speaks of the great stone stūpas which still remained in his time, for it is near Nāgarahāra, eight kilometers to the south, that he reported a "wonder-working stūpa which could be shaken by the touch of a finger" at Hi-lo, or Haḍḍā (modern Jelalabad). Perhaps this was the unsteady ruin of a great structure which had been damaged by the Hephthalites who went sweeping through this holy place of Buddhism in 531, destroying many of the 1,000 religious buildings which had been seen there some hundred years earlier by Fa-hsien. Hoping to find some evidence of these, the French excavators brought to light fragments of architectural details, and figures in stucco, some 13,000 to 16,000 of them, divided now between the Musée Guimet and the local museum in Kābul.<sup>3)</sup> It was the most exciting contribution in the study of Greco-Buddhist art that they could have hoped for; instead of more carved slabs, interesting but somewhat lifeless, such as had been known before by students of Gandhāra art, they brought to light many exquisite figures in stucco that are endowed with the vigor and individuality of a great school of sculpture.

<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>3)</sup> Barthoux, J. *Les Fouilles de Haḍḍā*. Paris, 1930. vols. I & III. *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* III; *Études d'Orientalisme, Musée Guimet, Mémoires Raymonde Linossier*. Paris, 1932. vol. II; Grousset, R. *De la Grèce à la Chine*. p. xxx and figs. 18, 35-57.



There are devatās of the Hindu style, graceful as dancing girls, and there are demons as hideous as anything dreamed of by Gothic carvers; wise old Brahmīns and cherubic worshippers, Apollonian youths, and barbarians with drooping moustaches, flat-nosed men of Mongolian type, high-born rajahs, the humble servant of Gautama in the episode of the Departure from the Palace, and the lovely wife of the prince — all were designed by men of great perception and skill.

Influence of the Haḍḍā School on Chinese Figurines. — Here, I suggest, we have the predecessors of our foreigners among the Chinese figurines. Similar in scale, in casting technique (though unglazed), vitally interested in racial types and individuals, we have a possible source for the inspiration which wrought a marked change in Chinese funerary sculpture in the pre-T'ang eras. Though earlier Chinese figures were fine in their simplicity of form, and sometimes their engaging humor, it is obvious that both in concept and modelling technique changes had come even in the Northern Wei period — a time contemporary with the greatest activity at Haḍḍā; certainly the interest in foreigners was outside the mainstream of Chinese development, and much more akin to the Hellenistic-Roman legacy of Afghanistan and northwest India. As Maud Gubiani put it: "It is at Haḍḍā that the taste for representing barbarians, which was so much a part of Hellenistic art, has inspired real masterpieces."<sup>1)</sup> Both she and Rowland<sup>2)</sup> stress the survival of the Hellenistic tradition in Haḍḍā and Taxila in the very use of stucco as a material for sculpture, and the interest in the portrayal of emotion and personality. Thanks to the historical records and accounts of travelers, we can provide the background for their transfer to the Far East; in fact, we can see the steps of that journey in the remains discovered by archaeologists in the Central Asiatic sites.<sup>3)</sup>

Influence Carried to China by Caravan Trade and Missionaries. — As we have noted, proverbs still current in Turfan are identical with those that occur in Afghanistan,<sup>4)</sup> and we may presume that the active caravan trade with China would have allowed the small images,

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<sup>1)</sup> Gubiani, M. "Les Caravaniers," p. 128.

<sup>2)</sup> Rowland, B., Jr. "The Hellenistic Tradition," p. 11. See Appendix II.

<sup>3)</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>4)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures*, p. 113.



even the trained craftsmen, to go from one country to another. We know, of course, of the constant exchange of ideas among Buddhists in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and China, and the desire on the part of the believers outside of India to seek true knowledge and directions for art production in the land of the historical Buddha.

One can easily trace the march of Hellenism to the Far East. From Taxila and Gandhāra, under the Kushans, to Khotan and the other cities of the southern trade route that were also under the Kushan rule, there was a natural flow of motifs and manners of representation. Portrait types are to be found in both locales which are similar ethnically, with big noses and long moustaches. The method of portraying hair as a mass, or a frown as a series of lines and furrows, or teeth showing between parted lips, are common to both, as are methods of drapery treatment.<sup>1)</sup>

The sculptors and painters of the northern trade route cities, generally working at a later date (sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries A.D.), were no less influenced by Northwestern India and Afghanistan. In sculpture, especially, one may find the "belated antiques" among the figures published by von Le Coq, Grünwedel, Stein, Pelliot and Hackin. The method of casting from moulds<sup>2)</sup> tended to preserve the Greco-Roman characteristics which had come earlier from Taxila, Haḍḍā, Bégram-Kāpīśa, Bāmiyān, and Fondukistan. The very choice of Hercules,<sup>3)</sup> of Yakṣas which resemble Silenus<sup>4)</sup> or demons in agony<sup>5)</sup> and the Buddha with drapery derived from the Hellenistic world<sup>6)</sup> — all of these indicate the steady transfer of ideas and methods toward China. The reliefs and fragments from Tumshuq, Kuchā, Qizil, Qarashahr, Shortshuq, Turfān and even Tun-huang, would have been very different had not a powerful tradition stemmed from Taxila, Gandhāra, Haḍḍā, and the Ganges valley.<sup>7)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Marshall, Sir John. "Excavations at Taxila." Archaeological Survey of India, no. 7, Calcutta, 1921, pl. XXV 1 a: "Exploration and Research." in the Annual Report of September 1929-30, pl. XIV, 3. At Haḍḍā, see Barthoux. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. 42, 50 b, 55 a, 56 b, 57, 58 g, 61 b-c, 62 d-f, 64, 71 c, 83, 85 a, 89, 99 a and g, 102 a, 103 c, 104 b; for Khotanese examples, see Montell, Gösta, "Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collection from Khotan." In the Bulletin no. 7, BMFEA, Stockholm, 1935, pl. VII 8, pl. VIII, pl. XI.

<sup>2)</sup> See Chapter on Techniques.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Neue Bildwerke*. Vol. II, pls. 3, and vol. I, pl. 2.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., vol. III.

<sup>5)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Die Plastik*. Vol. I, pl. 26.

<sup>6)</sup> Ibid., pls. 37 and 38.

<sup>7)</sup> Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines" p. 124-297.



Even our non-Buddhist Chinese figurines were affected, I suggest, by this more majestic religious art. Almost all of the "Westerners" look as they do because the native skill of the Chinese craftsman was stimulated by ideas outside of his own heritage. The lips parted in a smile which shows the teeth (Plate XXIX), the curly hair portrayed as a mass of ringlets (Plate XXIII) the exaggerated scowl, the eyes expressing a state of emotion (Plate XXXVIII) the detailed representation of ethnic type and costume, are legacies, all of them, from the Greco-Roman world and India which came to China by way of the trading cities and caravan routes and holy precincts of Buddhist communities.

*India and Hindu Influence on Chinese Art.* — There are thus some pure Hindu elements, as well as the Greco-Buddhist contributions, to be found in the figurines. Occasionally we see a bare torso of the Gupta type, the use of the dhoti cloth or other drapery common to the hot land of India, and of course the necklaces, bracelets and anklets which were more in vogue there than any other part of the Asiatic mainland (Plates XXIV and XXV). Though some of the jewelry worn by the Haddā figures was not Indian in origin, as Rostovtzeff comments,

The Genius of the Flowers at Hadda wears a necklace which is the exact duplicate of some at Palmyra. Many Hadda heads show a marked resemblance to those of Palmyra and much of the jewelry of the Gandhāran figures is close to Palmyra, which would support M. Foucher's theory that Hadda sculpture is as early as II–III centuries A.D., and the classic influence penetrated there by the intermediary of the caravan trade of the I–II centuries.<sup>1)</sup>

The darker skin of India seems to have interested some of the Chinese image makers; one supposes at times that they were confused by the the dark-skinned people, for they did not clearly distinguish between Hindus, Negroes and Malays.


In Buddhist temple banners, as well as on the chapel walls, the Chinese artists portrayed them as attendants to elephants and lions, the vehicles of Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, two important Bodhisattvas in the Buddhist hierarchy.<sup>2)</sup> A similar dusky youth with

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<sup>1)</sup> Rostovtzeff, M. "Greco-Indian Art." In *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, VII, 1931, p. 209, footnote.

<sup>2)</sup> Stein. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*. Pl. III, which the author describes as Mañjuśrī on his white lion, with "A dark-skinned attendant, intended for an Indian, but suggestive of a Negro type"; also, *The Thousand Buddhas*, pls. III and IV, and other examples in *Serindia*, pl. LIX, and *Innermost Asia*, by the same author; in Pelliot's *Grottes de Touen-huang*, Op. cit., vol. VI, caves 168, pl. CCCXXXI,



curly hair and thick lips, bare torso and Hindu jewelry, is included in the paintings of the meeting between Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti,<sup>1)</sup> or Śākyamūni and Prabhūtaratna.<sup>2)</sup> For other examples in pottery, see Hentze,<sup>3)</sup> and Schmidt.<sup>4)</sup> Some of them are drummer-boys; the position of the hands would suggest that, and they were so painted on the walls of the Tun-huang caves;<sup>5)</sup> the Hindu drum  was suspended from the neck, and the drummer headed a procession with dancing steps.

The K'un-lun; May have Represented Hindus or Javanese. — Individual T'ang authors had used the adjective "K'un-lun-nu."<sup>6)</sup> In the *Chiu T'ang Shu* there was the remark: "The people living to the south of Lin-yi have woolly hair and black skin and are commonly known as K'un-lun." In this instance the geographic location was in the Siam-Cambodia area.<sup>7)</sup> In the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, for the year 813 it was noted that: "The land of Ho-ling (Java) presented four Seng-ch'i slaves," which points to the South Seas.

Lin-yi is identified as being another name for Champa (Annam) by Kuwabara<sup>8)</sup> but he would include all of the countries inhabited by Malay tribes. The K'un-lun are associated with Malaya in the mid-eighth century of the Southern lands by Chien-chen.<sup>9)</sup> K'un-lun lin-

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and 169, pl. CCCXXXIV; Warner, L. *The Buddhist Wall Paintings of Wan Fo Hsia*, pls. XVIII and XXII.

<sup>1)</sup> Pelliot. Op. cit., vol. I, cave 8, pl. XV, and pl. XX; vol. VI, pl. CCCXXXIV; and similar ones in vol. III, cave 52, pl. XCI.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., vol. VI, pl. CCCXXV.

<sup>3)</sup> Hentze. Op. cit., pl. 74 B.

<sup>4)</sup> Schmidt, R. *Chinesische Keramik-Ausstellung im Frankfurter Kunstgewerbe-Museum*. Frankfurt-Main, 1923, pl. 16 c.

<sup>5)</sup> Cave 19 bis, not in Pelliot that I have been able to find, but in photo owned by L. Sickman, from which slide E 128658 of the Metropolitan Museum Collection was made; furthermore I have been assured by a painter of copies of the murals, Miss Shao Fang, that there are several of them in situ.

<sup>6)</sup> Chang Hsing-lang, "The Importation of Negro Slaves to China under the T'ang Dynasty." In the Bulletin no. 7, Catholic University of Peking, Dec. 1930, p. 37-59; this reference from p. 37.

<sup>7)</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>8)</sup> Kuwabara, J. "Ou P'u Shan-keng..." *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* no. 2, Tokyo, 1928, p. 61-2.

<sup>9)</sup> Takakusu, J. "Le Voyage de Ganshin." In BEFEO, vol. XXVIII, 1928, Hanoi, 1929, p. 466.



guistically corresponds to Lin-yi, and Lin-yi geographically corresponds to Champa — according to Rolf Stein.<sup>1)</sup>

References to the K'un-lun in Chinese Texts. — Dr. Goodrich, commenting on Professor Chang's article<sup>2)</sup> listed seven places which might have been the land of the K'un-lun: (1) several islands in the "Inde Transgangaétique" and Indonesia; (2) Pulo Condore; (3) Culao Cam, to the southeast of Tourane; (4) Champa, ancient Cambodia, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Java; (5) the Kingdom of Nanchao; (6) a town in Kuangsi; (7) part of the coast east of Africa near Madagascar and the great African island itself. He now agrees with Rolf Stein that Champa is the land indicated. He notes that G. Ferrand states that Negroes were sent to the T'ang court in A.D. 724, coming from the kingdom of Palembang, and that they could have been African Negroes imported there from Sumatra. It is interesting also that the Chinese term *seng-ch'i* and *zanggi* or *janggi* are identical, *janggi* appearing in a Javanese inscription of A.D. 860.

Comparison with Contemporary Art of India, Annam, Cambodia, and Java. — Comparing the Chinese figurines with Ajantā murals of the Gupta period in India has proved to be of little help in solving this vexing problem; there are dark-skinned people galore, but the shapes of head, the hair, eyeballs, noses and mouths are unlike our attendants. A few<sup>3)</sup> in the story of the furious elephant, bear some resemblance. Even the seventh and eighth century sculpture of Annam<sup>4)</sup> is disappointing, for it is obvious that the Cham foreheads are broader, the brows less arched, and the lips, though full, are quite horizontal in line. A study of the sculpture of southern India, the land of the Dravidians, proved to be no more rewarding. It is in Java, at Prambanan in eighth century reliefs that I have found the closest similarity in features and curly hair.<sup>5)</sup> This is especially interesting in view of the active trade with Java, and the reference to the importation of Javanese slaves

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein, R. A. "Le Lin-yi." In *Han Hue Bulletin*, vol. 11, Peking, 1947, p. 197.

<sup>2)</sup> Goodrich, L. C. "Negroes in China." In *Bull. of the Catholic University of Peking*, 1931, p. 137-8.

<sup>3)</sup> Yazdani. *Ajanta*. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. LXXIV, cave XVI.

<sup>4)</sup> Parmentier, H. *Les Sculptures Chames au Musée de Tourane*. Paris, 1922.

<sup>5)</sup> Kats, J. *The Ramayana as Sculptured in Javanese Temples*. Batavia, no date, pl. XIII figure to the right of the altar, and pl. XXXVII, lower left.



to China in 813, and the use of the term "janggi" in a Javanese inscription of 860.

In Chao Ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih* (Information about Barbarians) there is one section which says:

The land of the K'un-lun Tseng-ch'i is situated on the shores of the Southwestern Sea behind a screen of large islands . . . the products of the land consist of elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns. To the west there is an island peopled with savages whose complexion is like black lacquer and whose hair resembles wriggling tadpoles. They are captured by using food as bait, and are sold at great profit to the Arabs as slaves. The Arabs entrust them with their keys, knowing they will be faithful because they have no kith nor kin.

Seng-ch'i and Ts'eng-ch'i were often identified with Zanzibar (Zinj of Cosma's *Topographia Christiana*, the Zaghbar of Marco Polo, explained as "Region of the Blacks"). The Arabs gave the name Zanzibar to the portion of East Africa stretching from the Juba River to Cape Delgado.<sup>1)</sup> We have noted, however, that Seng-ch'i slaves were sent specifically from Java in the ninth century.

Negroes in China. — The Negro slaves of the T'ang dynasty were imported into China by the Arabs. In that connection, Chang<sup>2)</sup> says that there was a revolt in 869 in the Eastern Caliphate, near Basra, where Negro slaves worked in the salt mines; the rebellion lasted fifteen years, which would imply a large number of them. "In the novels written during the T'ang dynasty there is frequent mention of Foreigners who sell K'un-lun slaves, which are Africans, not the Negritoes of the Malay Peninsula." <sup>3)</sup> In discussing imports in the T'ang period, Latourette says: "Ivory, incense, copper, tortoise shell and rhinoceros horn came in. It seems probable that Negro slaves were brought by the Arabs into China." <sup>4)</sup>

Confusion in the Chinese Mind between Hindus and Negroes. — In the Buddhist banners and murals, as well as among the figurines, the racial identity of the dark boys is difficult, perhaps because of this very confusion in the Chinese mind. In unglazed figures, the skin pigment was sometimes dark blue, at other times black or brown; glazed figures are brown or even dark green.

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<sup>1)</sup> Chang. *Op. cit.*, p. 41-3.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>4)</sup> Latourette, K. *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*. New York, 1946. p. 205.



Hindu Costume. — The torso, necklace, bracelets, and anklets correspond to images of this period in India or Java, and the draping of the cloth through the legs may be seen in Hindu costume today, but the heads are sometimes fairly close to Greco-Roman types with curly hair. In the paintings, thick red lips, contrasting strongly with gleaming white teeth remind us of our portrayals of Negroes in our own times, and the easy gait, big feet, and happy smile, the sense of rhythm, the eyes rolling up in ecstasy at the sound of music, seem to be Negro or Javanese rather than Hindu. Wherever they came from, the drummer boys, grooms for elephant and lion, or dancer at the head of a procession, are the gayest companions for the departed spirit in the T'ang tomb.

China's Political Relations with India. Descriptions of North India. — Most of the historical reports of Hindus in China concern men of high rank or great learning, rather than grooms or musicians. Many envoys from Uḍḍiyāna and Kashmir must have been seen at the court, for at one time, after 642, both places were under Chinese suzerainty when their kings became vassals of T'ang T'ai-tsung.<sup>1)</sup> Of Uḍḍiyāna the annals say:

It is a mountainous country. It is rich in gold, iron, rice, and vineyards. The people are weaklings and liars. They excel in the magic arts. In 642 the king sent an envoy with an offering of camphor. During the K'ai-yüan period, in 720, the emperor sent ambassadors to the kings of Uḍḍiyāna, Khottal and Yasin with brevets of investiture as a mark of favor for their loyalty to China at a time when the Arabs were seeking to win them away.<sup>2)</sup>

Description by Hsüan-tsang. — Hsüan-tsang visited both Uḍḍiyāna and Kashmir; he did not find the former place congenial, for it was a hotbed of Tantrism (studies in sorcery, magic charms and rituals) so he continued on his journey eastward to a more appealing land. He climbed heights abounding in precipices, crossed a bridge of iron, and after going a thousand *li*, reached the kingdom of Chia-shih-mi-lo (Kasmir or Cashmere), of which he said,

It has a circumference of more than 7,000 *li* surrounded by high steep mountains over which there were narrow difficult passes, and the country had always been impregnable . . . The district was rich agriculturally, and produced abundant fruits, and flowers; it yielded also horses of the dragon stock, saffron, lenses and medicinal plants. The climate was very cold in season with much snow

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<sup>1)</sup> Grousset. *Hist. de l'Extrême Orient*. p. 268.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 128-9.



and little wind. The people wore serge and cotton; they were volatile and timid, being protected by a dragon they crowed over their neighbors; they were good-looking but deceitful; they were fond of learning and had a faith which embraced orthodoxy and heterodoxy (i.e. Buddhism and other religions). There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries, and four Aśoka stūpas each containing some of the bodily relics of the Buddha.<sup>1)</sup>

When Hsüan-tsang approached the capital, Pravarapura, the present Srināgar, the King of Kashmir, with his whole court, came to meet him.

The road was covered with parasols and standards, and the whole route was strewn with flowers and drenched in perfumes. To honor his guest the Indian monarch spread before him on the ground an immense quantity of flowers. Then he begged him to mount an elephant, and walked in his train. The next day, after a feast in the palace, the rajah invited Hsüan-tsang to begin discourses on the difficult points in the doctrine.<sup>2)</sup>

Description in T'ang Annals. — The T'ang history gives much the same description of the people and the country, and stresses the close political relationship between the Middle Kingdom and this land so far away, in the mid-seventh and early eighth centuries; the imperial decree conferring the title of king on the ruler in 720 is noted, and his gift to China of drugs from the Hu country. On the death of this king, his son sent an ambassador assuring the emperor of his loyalty, with his troops ready to serve the Chinese in time of need. "Beside that," he wrote,

"I should like to erect a sanctuary in honor of the Celestial Khan at the Dragon Lake" — and he asked to be invested as king. The functionaries of the court of state ceremonies translated this request to inform the emperor of it. An imperial decree ordered a banquet be given for the ambassador in the main hall of the palace, and that he be given presents in abundance; he was given the brevet of investiture for his king. From this time on, official tribute was constantly brought in from Kashmir.<sup>3)</sup>

In 733,

The king of Kashmir sent a wise and holy man to make offerings and give an address. He was invited to a banquet given in one of the palace rooms by royal decree; he was given 500 pieces of gauze, and after several days, sent back to his country with the title of investiture for the new king who succeeded his brother.<sup>4)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>2)</sup> Grousset. *Footsteps*. p. 114-16.

<sup>3)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*. p. 166-67.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 55.



As late as 758, well after the defeat of the Chinese by the Arabs, there is recorded the arrival of a Buddhist monk from Kāpiśa, named Prajñā, a monk from Central Asia, and another from Kashmir, who came to offer homage. They were well received and given honorary titles.<sup>1)</sup>

Hsüan-tsang passed through Taxila, then a dependency of Kashmir. He said that "it had a fertile soil and bore good crops, with flowing streams and luxuriant vegetation; the climate was genial; the people, who were plucky, were adherents of Buddhism. Though the monasteries were numerous, many of them were desolate, and the monks, few in number, were Mahāyānists."<sup>2)</sup> The remains of monuments at Taxila are of great significance in the study of Greco-Buddhist art.<sup>3)</sup>

Political Ties with China. — Chinese political influence penetrated into India more deeply than the vales of Kashmir. There are notices of the late seventh and early eighth century exchanges between rulers of various small kingdoms there and the Chinese emperors. In 692,

The King of East India, the King of West India, the King of South India, and the King of Central India, and the King of Kuchā all came to render homage and make offerings; in 710... the kingdom of South India, the Tibetans, and the kingdoms of Zabulistan and Kāpiśa all sent ambassadors to carry products of their countries as tribute; in 720, the King of South India, Śrī Narasimha Potavarman (ruler of Kañci, or Conjeeveram southwest of Madras), proposed to use his war elephants and his cavalry to punish the Arabs, the Tibetans and others. He asked also that a name be given to his army. The emperor praised him warmly, and named his army "The Army Which Cherishes Virtue"; he had erected a temple in honor of China, and asked the emperor for an inscription giving a name to this temple; the emperor thereupon caused a calligrapher to write "That Which Rewards Virtue" and sent it to the king who placed it in front of the temple which commemorated the blessings come from China. In the same year, an ambassador had gone to court to render homage and carry tribute, and careful plans had to be made for his safe return. He was given a flowered robe of silk, a golden girdle, a purse for the insignia in the shape of a fish, and the seven objects, and started on his way. Three months later a Chinese Ambassador was sent to Southern India to confer by brevet the title of King on Śrī Narasimha Potavarman.<sup>4)</sup>

Indian Influence on Chinese Secular Art. — We recognize the profound influence exerted on Chinese religious thought and philosophy by India, and we can see quite clearly the equally strong impact of

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 93.

<sup>2)</sup> Watters. *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>3)</sup> Rowland. *Op. cit.*, in Appendix II.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 24, 28, 44-5.



Indian forms on Chinese religious art. In the realm of secular art there are other traces, and I suggest that one of them, the motif of the duck or goose (harisa) with a small branch or aśoka leaf in his mouth, became enormously popular in the T'ang period. In the early Buddhist carvings of the stupas of Mathurā, Sāncī, Bodhgayā and Amarāvati,<sup>1)</sup> the motif was included perhaps as a part of the Hamsa Jātaka; the birds were also moon symbols.<sup>2)</sup> In the secular art of Bégram, carvings in bone and ivory<sup>3)</sup> attest the appeal of the bird and flower design outside the confines of India proper, and mark a stepping stone in its advance across Central Asia into China. It is entirely possible that painters of India transferred it directly to China, for there is a rare illuminated manuscript among others discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the Tun-huang hoard, a "gigantic scroll, Buddhist text, in upright Gupta script, likely to have reached Tun-huang through Tibet on the Nepalese side."<sup>4)</sup> It is quite distinct in style from the more conventionalized Sassanian birds with strands of pearls in their beaks (Fig. 13); both were known in China, but this is thoroughly Indian in its roundness of form, greater naturalness, and impression of vitality and life, as compared to the Persian formality, angularity, and heraldic balance.

In textile design they may be compared in *Serindia*;<sup>5)</sup> as actually used in a gown, a lady donor in cave 74 Tun-huang,<sup>6)</sup> wears one using the motif in a handsome fabric. In the Shōsōin collection in Japan, consisting of the many art objects collected by the Emperor Shōmu before 750, and dedicated in the Tōdai-ji in 756, there are a variety of things ornamented with variations of the design, most of them Chinese in workmanship or inspiration — a bronze mirror,<sup>7)</sup> a lacquered hide box with gold and silver inlay<sup>8)</sup> and an octagonal box of tortoise

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<sup>1)</sup> Marshall, Sir J. Annual Report, 1912-13, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1916. pl. IX in part I; Bachhofer, L. *Early Indian Sculpture*. Paris, 1929. vol. II, pl. 113.

<sup>2)</sup> Hackin, J. *Recherches Arch. en Asie Centrale*. p. 30.

<sup>3)</sup> Hackin, J. *Recherches... à Bégram*. Op. cit., pls. XLIX, 127; LXV, 198 and 204; LXIX, 215-6, and text p. 14, 17 and 16.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein. *Serindia*. vol. II, p. 914, referring to vol. IV, pl. CXLVI, ch. c. col. See Fig. 13.

<sup>5)</sup> Stein. *Serindia*. vol. IV, pls. CXV, ch. 00359 b, and ch. 009, from Sogdiana or another Eastern Iranian site, and CXIII, CXIV, ch. 00304 a and ch. 00303, probably of Chinese workmanship.

<sup>6)</sup> Pelliot. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. CXXXV.

<sup>7)</sup> Harada, J., *Catalogue of the Imperial Treasures of the Shosoin*. Tokyo, 1929. vol. II, pl. 18.

<sup>8)</sup> Ibid., vol. VIII, pl. 39.



shell over gold leaf, inlaid with mother-of-pearl,<sup>1)</sup> a crimson ivory footrule,<sup>2)</sup> a painted box<sup>3)</sup> and a box with painting in gold and silver on a blue ground<sup>4)</sup> (Plate XXVI).

This is offered as another indication of China's eager acceptance of "western" ideas and motifs; the ancient Red Bird, symbol of the South, nearer the pheasant or peacock in natural form, had entered into Chinese art in the Late Chou period, and continued from that time on to occupy a place of prime importance in textiles, mirrors, architectural motifs, and jewelry. The duck and goose had not figured so widely in these arts nor even in minor arts practiced by craftsmen making gaming boards, trinket boxes, and rulers, until the sophisticated T'ang ladies and gentlemen were ready for the beautiful motifs coming from other lands. These motifs soon took on the linear grace of the native Chinese style.

Indian Influence on Chinese Costume. — In the latter half of the eighth century, under the Emperor Su-tsung (756 to 762), his guards were dressed as Lokapāla, the Guardians of the Four Directions, which had come into Chinese thought and art with the popular acceptance of Buddhism.<sup>5)</sup> No doubt most of the fierce guardians placed in the T'ang tombs were intended to represent supernatural spirits, but some of them may be "The Emperor's Own" in their fashionable eighth century dress.

Perhaps some of the Chinese skill with flowers was increased by the active trade with India, for it is reported that, "the transcendent beauty of the azaleas which Yin the magician caused to bloom out of season, was due to a drug with which the roots had been treated by a foreign Buddhist priest."<sup>6)</sup>

*The Southern Trade Route. Khotan.* — Much of that trade, especially in the early days, may well have come through the Southern Trade Route into China, for there are many monuments in Yārkand and Khotan which bear the marks of Indian culture, just as there are recollections, too, of Sassanian and Greco-Roman influence in the southern oases.

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., pl. 61.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., vol. VI, pl. 36.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., vol. IX, pl. 15.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., pl. 6.

<sup>5)</sup> Wieger. *Textes Hist.* p. 1446.

<sup>6)</sup> Edwards. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.



The People. — In the land now desolate and covered by desert sand, there had been flourishing settlements, filled with people who loved merriment and music and the joys of life. Sir Aurel Stein <sup>1)</sup> and other explorers found remnants of that old civilization which point to another interesting and unique group of people living to the West of China. According to their own legends, the kingdom of Khotan was founded by a band of exiles from India and expatriates from south China.

Whatever their actual origin may have been, both India and China have played dominant roles in their cultural development. Their physical characteristics studied by Joyce and based on data procured by Stein <sup>2)</sup> indicates an absence of Mongolian traits and a close correspondence to the Galchas of the Pamirs who are fairly pure representatives of Lapouge's *Homo Alpinus*, and certainly of Caucasian stock. To their race belong the mountain tribes settled in the high valleys between the Hindu Kush on the south, and the Alaï on the north, who speak closely allied Eastern Iranian dialects. Tibetan elements may have come in at a later time.

I find, through the study of local sculpture and painting, that another type must have been prevalent there; it is characterised by a low, receding forehead (which recalls the fashion of flattening the head at birth, mentioned earlier), eyes wide apart with bulging eyeballs, a relatively flat nose with flaring nostrils, thick lips, and a rounded chin. <sup>3)</sup> These same features I have noted among several of the figurines (Plates XXVII, XXVIII, and XXIX).

Political Ties with China. — As early as the first century A.D., Khotan, or Yü-t'ien, is mentioned in the Chinese records as a place of some political importance, and it was in A.D. 73 that Pan Ch'ao, leader of the Chinese forces, brought the king to submission and established a Chinese garrison there. <sup>4)</sup> Within the next century, its political fortunes were allied to those of the Kushans. <sup>5)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Sir A. Ancient Khotan*. Oxford, 1907, 2 vols.; and *The Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*. London, 1903.

<sup>2)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Khotan*. p. 144.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII, Y.0030; pl. XLV, B. 001.h, i, g, f; pl. LIV, D. 1134; pl. LVI, D. vl. 5.; *Serindia*. vol. IV, pl. CXXXIX, ky 1001-2; pl. CXXVI, ta. 009.; Montell, Gösta. "Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collection from Khotan." In *BMFEA Bulletin* n. 7 Stockholm, 1935. pl. III, 4 c, pls. IX, XI, XII.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Khotan*. p. 167-68.

<sup>5)</sup> Montell. *Op. cit.*, p. 147.



Account by Sung Yün. — A pilgrim of the sixth century, Sung Yün, who went through in c. 519, described the king as wearing a gilt head-dress resembling in shape a cock's crest, from which there descended from behind, as an ornament, a band of silk two feet long and five inches wide. He commented on the musicians, and the bearers of swords and other arms, and said that the women wore girdles, short vests and trousers, rode horseback like men, and went about quite independently.<sup>1)</sup> Judging by a rare donor portrait which may be a little later in date, long, full trousers were still worn with a tight fitting jacket, the jacket with wide lapels like those of Kuchā which had followed Sassanian Persia in fashion.<sup>2)</sup>

Khotan in T'ang Annals. — In the T'ang history Khotan is described as being:

9,700 *li* west of the capital . . . There are 4,000 soldiers in the elite guard; there is a river where one finds jade. The people go searching for it at night, and in the places where the reflection of the moonlight is most brilliant they never fail to find beautiful jade. The king lives in a house decorated with paintings. The people are ingenious; their conversation is full of exaggeration. They follow the cult of the Heaven God (Mazdaism) and the Law of the Buddha. They are reverent in manner; when they meet each other they do not fail to bend the knee. Pieces of wood take the place of brushes for writing.<sup>3)</sup> Whenever they receive a letter they raise it to the forehead as a mark of respect — (usually reserved for official letters from the emperor). They cut seals in jade. From the time of the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, up to our time, the kings of this country have always passed down from one to another the letters and insignia of investiture which had been conferred upon them by the Middle Kingdom. The people love to sing and dance. At Khotan, as at Kuchā, there are licensed houses of women. The inhabitants are good at spinning and weaving; formerly they had had no silkworms,

and then follows the story which is now regarded as legend, of the smuggling out of the silkworm from China. The raising of mulberry trees for the silkworm was reported by Hsüan-tsang, who saw a plantation of the old trees.<sup>4)</sup>

The family name of the king is Wei-ch'ih. Originally he was a vassal of the Turks. In 632 he sent an ambassador with gifts to the court of China. In 635 he sent his son who entered the imperial guard. When the Chinese triumphed over

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Khotan*. p. 170.

<sup>2)</sup> Montell. *Op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 7.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146-47 and some were found by Stein in the ruins.

<sup>4)</sup> Grousset. *Footsteps*. p. 233.





Armenoid wine-seller (cf. Plate III *c*).







Kuchā in 640, the king of Khotan was alarmed; he sent his son to offer 300 camels. The Chinese general sent a troop of light cavalry down to impress the king, who was urged to present himself to the Son of Heaven. The king complied.<sup>1)</sup>

It is this same king who was so highly thought of that his image was placed in the famous tomb of the T'ang Emperor, T'ai-tsung, who died in 649. In a note, we are told,

they carved the image of Fu-tu Hsin on a slab, and placed it at the base of the Hsüan door . . . There were fourteen stone statues representing the conquered foreign princes. Beside that, on six slabs four and a half feet high, five and a half feet wide, one foot thick, were carved six horses renowned in Chinese art.<sup>2)</sup>

No rubbing of this image of the king of Khotan is known; many of the slabs were badly broken, and others have been taken away.

In 674 and 675, the new king, followed by a retinue of sixty-seven persons, including his sons, younger brothers, and high dignitaries, appeared in person to offer homage to the court.<sup>3)</sup> By 675 he was named governor of a local area, P'i-cha, for the merit he had acquired in attacking the Tibetans;<sup>4)</sup> in 691, when the ruler died, his son was named king;<sup>5)</sup> in 717 they sent an ambassador to offer two polo ponies, a wild camel with feet as fleet as the wind, and a leopard.<sup>6)</sup> In regular succession it is noted that the Chinese court approved and gave investiture to the kings of Khotan, and in 736 and 740 honored the queens.<sup>7)</sup> The young brothers of the royal house continued to serve in the Imperial Guard; in 760 one of them was sent out to the Four Garrisons as second-in-command.<sup>8)</sup> In 756, the ruler, Shêng, had appeared with 5,000 horses to support the Emperor Su-tsung in his desperate struggle against An Lu-shan.<sup>9)</sup>

Account of Hsüan-tsang. — Hsüan-tsang had been there in 644, making a visit from seven to eight months while he awaited permission to re-enter China which he had left surreptitiously. Most of his descrip-

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*, p. 115; 125-6.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>4)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*, p. 23.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56, 61.

<sup>8)</sup> Chavannes. *Documents*, p. 127.

<sup>9)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, p. 177.



tions of Khotan agree with those in T'ang history; he found that much of the country was an arid waste, but there was an arable portion

suitable for the cultivation of cereals, and it produces an abundance of fruits. The climate is soft and agreeable, but there are tornadoes which bring with them clouds of dust. The manners and customs show a sense of propriety and justice. The inhabitants are by nature mild and respectful... they are easy-going, given to enjoyments, and live contented with their lot. Music is much practised in this country, and men love to sing and dance. Few of them wear garments of wool and fur; most of them dress in light silks and white cloth. Their appearance is full of urbanity... There are about a hundred Buddhist monasteries containing some 5,000 monks.<sup>1)</sup>

Fa-hsien, early in the fifth century, had reported tens of thousands of monks, and described magnificent Buddhist processions.<sup>2)</sup>

Wu-k'ung's Description. — Another traveler, Wu-k'ung, passed through there in 786. His record, and documents found at Dandan-Oiliq bearing dates from 768 to 790, indicate that Chinese administrative influence made itself felt there to within a year (790 to 791) of the time that the connection between the empire and the Four Garrisons was broken by Tibetan occupation of Pei-t'ing. One note, of 780, hints of troubled times, recording the difficulties of Chu Ju-yü, a palace official who was sent to Khotan to purchase jade articles for the Emperor Te-tsung; he was robbed by the Hui-ho (Uighurs) of his precious goods. Soon after 791 there was no more direct contact between China and Khotan until 938, and by that time the T'ang dynasty had fallen.<sup>3)</sup>

Local Types in Khotanese Art. — Local sculpture and painting portray people of two types for the most part. Some have dark, wavy hair, fair skin, and the large, dark eyes of Mediterranean people; these resemble early portraits made at near-by Miran in the Third century A.D. which are related to remnants of Hellenistic and Roman art so prevalent in the area, and related also to the art of Dura Europos.<sup>4)</sup> The Queen of the panel which Stein interpreted as being the Deity of

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>2)</sup> Giles, H. *The Travels of Fa-hsien*. Cambridge, 1923, p. 4-6.

<sup>3)</sup> Based on: Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, p. 177-8.

<sup>4)</sup> Hackin. *Studies in Chinese Art and Some Indian Influences*. Op. cit., p. 9.

"At Miran... the bearded man with his thick black wig recalls certain characters in the Story of Esther, reproduced on one of the walls of the synagogue of Dura, dating 2nd half of the 3d century, and attributed to 'the Iranian painter'."



the Silkworm, <sup>1)</sup> and a stone head <sup>2)</sup> are of this group, as are perhaps the men riding a horse and a camel. <sup>3)</sup>

The more indigenous type, with bangs cut over the sloping forehead, rather slanting eyes set wide apart, prominent eyeballs, flaring nostrils and full lips, which resembles the Môn people of Burma and Siam, is to be seen in pottery vessels and even may be noted in the local portrayal of the Buddha heads from the Rawāk stūpa. <sup>4)</sup> There is a marked similarity to the Kushans of Taxila, to whom they may be related. <sup>5)</sup>

Native Costumes. — The native costume seems to have consisted of a short-sleeved tunic, without lapels, which crossed in front; under that was worn a blouse with long, tight sleeves. The two male riders wear round-necked tunics of the Chinese type, full like the Chinese (not fitted to the waist in the Persian mode), and belted low rather than at the natural waist line. <sup>3)</sup>

Figurines of Khotanese. — The caps of the riders are interesting for we find a number of the same kind worn by the figurines, especially the polo players. Though polo was introduced into China in the seventh century from Tibet <sup>6)</sup>, we recall that polo ponies were sent to China from Khotan, and that the ladies rode horseback just like men; it is possible, therefore, that some of the polo players represent Khotanese (Plate XXX).

Another figurine (Plate XXIX) seems to me to have many Khotanese characteristics. The youth is very amiable in expression, he wears his hair cut in the local fashion, and his tunic is of the exact type shown in Khotanese painting. Like the painting, also, are elements which recall the Hellenistic world, especially in the modelling of the face, which suggest that the Chinese artisan followed some foreign model.

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Ancient Khotan*. pl. LXIII, D.X. 4.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., pl. XVIII, KH. 003. q.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., pl. LIX, D. VII. 5, and LXII, D.X. 5.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., pl. XLIII, Y. 0030; XLV, B. 001. h. i. g. f.; LIV, D. 11. 34; LVI, D. vi. 5; and pl. LXXXIV; and Montell. *Op. cit.*, p. 145-6.

<sup>5)</sup> Agrawala. "Terracotta Figurines," p. 124-159; pl. LV, 254, and pl. LVI 242.

<sup>6)</sup> Goodrich, L.C. "Polo in Ancient China." In the *Horse and Horseman*, vol. 19, Apr. 1938, p. 27, 38-40.



There are several dignitaries, men with smiling, rather thick lips, and the large eye-balls of Khotan, who may have looked like the courtiers and members of the royal house who were in attendance upon the Chinese emperor (Plate XI a, XXVII and XXVIII).

Khotanese at Tun-huang. — In Tun-huang, on the walls of the Ch'ien-fo-tung, there are portraits of Khotanese donors in elaborate official robes.<sup>1)</sup> Their faces resemble some of the Turkic people, and the robes are similar to those of the Uighurs in the extensive use of embroidery, as well as the "onion dome" headdress and elaborate hair pins, and the brightly rouged cheeks; this might indicate that the local painters were not too careful about their models, using anything impressive by that time.

In the long history of China's trade and diplomacy west of her frontier walls and watch-towers facing the desert sands, her relationship with Khotan was one of the most continuous and most harmonious.

*Arabia.* — The last of the "Tribute bearers" to play a significant role in Chinese life of the T'ang period were the Moslem Arabs. The power of Islam had been growing steadily in Western Asia from the time of the death of the leader Mohammed in A.D. 632, and had been one of the important factors in the loss of prestige by China in the Samarkand-Bokhārā area, as we have seen.

The Arabs. — In A.D. 651, the Chinese first came into direct contact with the Arabs when an embassy reached China from the fourth Caliph, Othman, "Prince of Believers." During the Omayyad Caliphate, according to Drake, in the period from 660 to 750, Arab power spread from Persia toward the Pamirs; one by one the states there succumbed to them — Balkh in 705, Bokhārā in 709, Samarkand and Ferghāna in 712. According to Moslem accounts, the Arabs crossed the Pamirs and took Kāshghar, then proceeded as far as Turfān whence they sent an embassy to the emperor of China calling for his submission.

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<sup>1)</sup> Pelliot. *Les Grottes*. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. CXXXIII, cave 74, of the King of Khotan; and vol. IV, pls. CCIII-IV, and XIII, cave 117, a princess of the Li family, third daughter of the King of Khotan, who was grateful for her marriage to the great magistrate Ts'ao Yen-lu, who was himself ruler of Khotan from 960 to 1001, which gives an approximate date for this cave and others in the same series; see Priest, *A. Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum*. New York, 1944, p. 65.



Embassies to China. — The Chinese records take a different slant of the situation. Though embassies are recorded, the chief interest that attaches to this last one was

the fact that the Mohammedans objected to performing the kow-tow to the Chinese emperor on the grounds that in their country they prostrated themselves thus only before God. The Chinese officials wished to punish them, but they were finally exempt from the kow-tow because of the difference of custom in their country.

Histories record that on subsequent missions, though the Arab envoys continued to object to the rite on the same grounds, they gave way to the continued pressure exerted on them, and agreed to comply with the Chinese custom.<sup>1)</sup>

Under The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (713 to 755), Chinese power was recovered in the Tarim basin. His active foreign policy was synchronized with the Arab retreat and the fall of the Omayyad Caliphate in 750. The Chinese once more became the dominating power in Turkestan, but it was of brief duration, for, as we have seen, the Chinese expedition led by the Korean-born general, Kao Hsien-chih, was defeated by the Arabs at Talas, northeast of Tash-kent in 751. Tibet took advantage of the breakdown of Chinese power in the Tarim, and controlled most of the territory from 758 to 760.

In the early eighth century there had been an exchange of gifts between the Arabs and Chinese; in 716 an Arab envoy had brought a robe of gold thread tissue and a jade bottle;<sup>2)</sup> in 726, Sulaymān arrived with eleven other persons to offer the products of their country. They were given red robes and silver girdles and sent back to their homeland. In 729 another envoy appeared "to do homage" and offer the products of his country, and he was sent back with 100 pieces of silk. In 746 an envoy from Persia arrived with the cumbersome gifts of a rhinoceros (perhaps it was only the horn), and an elephant. In 755 and 756 the 'Abbasids sent envoys, and again in 758 and 759; on the occasion of the visit of 758 there was protocol trouble, for the Moslems and some Uighurs arrived at the same time; there was great discussion as to precedence in going in to see the emperor, finally decided by dividing them into groups and allowing them to enter simultaneously from the right and from the left.<sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Drake. "Mohammedanism in the T'ang Dynasty." In *Monumenta Serica*. Op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavannes. *Notes Additionnelles*. p. 32.

<sup>3)</sup> Based on: *Ibid.*, p. 46, 50, 76, 9, 93.



An Lu-shan Rebellion and Help from Arabia. — Shortly after the middle of the century (755 to 766) the rebellion of An Lu-shan broke out in China, resulting in the loss of the western capital, Ch'ang-an, and the use of foreign troops to quell the rebellion. He had been a former imperial favorite, but turned against the Emperor Hsüan-tsung on December 16, 755, marching from Fan Yang where he was governor, crossing Hopei and Shansi provinces, to lay siege to Lo-yang, which fell to him in thirty-four days. On July 14, 756 the emperor with his entourage fled from Ch'ang-an toward Szechüan province. Angry soldiers and commanders of the imperial body-guard killed the premier and his son, and demanded that the imperial concubine, Yang Kuei-fei, be put to death. The emperor, on the threat to his own life, yielded, and she was strangled.

One of the generals chosen to combat the rebels was a Khitan, Li-Kuang-pi. He led some 10,000 men, both Chinese and foreign cavalry, as well as 3,000 archers from Tai Yüan.

On August 12th the heir-apparent, later given the temple name of Su-tsung, was proclaimed emperor, and he proceeded to establish a powerful court at Lin Wu. He sent out a call for help to his western allies; some 50,000 troops arrived from Kansu, and a bit later, Uighurs joined Chinese forces in the Ordos region.

In the spring, word reached the new emperor that troops from Ferghāna, Arabia, An-hsi, and Pei-t'ing were approaching; it will be remembered that a Chinese princess had been given in marriage to the king of Ferghāna in 744, and that relations had been particularly harmonious after that. Among the men marching across the vast territories between China and the Pamirs was the famous Nestorian Bishop, Isaac, called Iss-ü in the Chinese annals; he arrived on March 14, 757.

The King of Khotan arrived with 5,000 men. Some 150,000 soldiers from the Shuo Fang country, and other Western regions, converged on Ch'ang-an. Many of the Westerners were in the vanguard, and were cited for their bravery. They helped to put the rebels to flight after some 60,000 had been killed, and the imperial army entered Ch'ang-an on November 14, 757. The monk Iss-ü, it was said, had proved himself to be "claw and tusk" to his commanding general, Kuo Tzu-yi, and "ear and eye" to the army. Since many spies and detectives were employed by the imperial army, it is probable that he served as a spy — surely a remarkable career for a Nestorian Bishop!

On December 3, 757, Lo-yang was recovered, and on January 30, 758, An Lu-shan was murdered by his son. Though the rebellion had been successfully put down, there were still troubled days ahead for



the Chinese, mainly because of the restlessness of the foreign troops. On the occasion of re-taking Lo-yang the Uighurs had been prevented from looting by being bribed with 10,000 *p'i* of silk (a *p'i* consists of forty Chinese feet).

In 762 there was an uprising in the northern suburb of the city, and a battle ensued in which about 60,000 men were killed; the troops then looted and ravaged the Eastern Capital, killing tens of thousands of people, and taking many as slaves back to their homelands. The city was set on fire and burned for several weeks. A poet, Jung Yü, passed that way about a month later, and saw the devastation wrought by "men with long noses and yellow curly hair." <sup>1)</sup>

Arab Settlements in China. — There were about 3,000 Arabs among the Western troops; according to popular belief, though entirely unfounded on historical records, a fable arose that some settled down with Chinese wives, and their descendants formed the nucleus of the present Mohammedan population of North China. No such thing was reported by the Arab traveler Ibn Wahhāb, who came to China in about A.D. 815 and had an interview with the Emperor Hsien-tsung (806 to 821) in Sian-fu (Ch'ang-an). His record shows no knowledge of any Mohammedan population nor mosque there; the T'ang dynasty accounts, which speak of Nestorian and Zoroastrian monasteries and shrines in the capital, make no mention of any Mohammedan mosque. <sup>2)</sup>

There were, of course, the settlements in south China, in Canton and probably at Hang-chou and Ch'üan-chou, established because of the active sea trade. A description of Canton of the eighth century was left by the celebrated Chinese monk Chien-chen (Ganjin in Japanese), when he was attempting to reach Japan, and was blown south to Hainan and Canton, after having crossed "the Sea of serpents, the Sea of fish, and the Sea of birds, all terrifying..." In the river of Canton there were innumerable vessels belonging to Hindus, Persians, and men of the K'unlun. There were merchants of all kinds, white and red, from Ceylon, Arabia, and Central Asia. <sup>3)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Chang Hsing Lang. "The Cause which Induced the Monk I-ssü, the Nestorian Bishop of Ch'ang-an, to Come to China, and the Exact Date." In *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Shanghai, 1948, vol. 73, p. 69-88; see, for this account of the rebellion.

<sup>2)</sup> Drake. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>3)</sup> Ferrand, G. *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques*. Paris, 1913. p. 638 et seq.; and Takakusu, J. "Le Voyage de Ganshin." *Op. cit.* p. 461-467.



Arab Descriptions of China. — The account of the Arab merchant Sulaymān, which is really the composite report of several different travelers who went to China and India between 830 and 851,<sup>1)</sup> gives us some interesting observations. They said:

The Chinese have gold, silver, pearls, brocades and silk, all in good quantity . . . They import into China ivory, incense, copper ingots, tortoise shell and rhinoceros horn, of which they make belt ornaments. They have no Arab horses, but horses of another breed; they have asses and two-humped camels in great numbers. They have clay of an excellent quality of which they make porcelain bowls as fine as glass.<sup>2)</sup>

This is the first occidental note on porcelain. The ruins of Samarra have yielded authentic Chinese porcelains and several local imitations bespeak the importance of Far Eastern ceramics in the Moslem world of the 'Abbasid period.<sup>3)</sup> He discussed the payment of duty on goods, and noted that the emperor had first choice, after which things were sold in the open market; he noted, too, that the emperor had a monopoly on salt and tea. All travelers, whether Chinese, Arab or some other nationality, had to carry a card of identification. He spoke of laws and penalties, and said that prostitutes had to register with the police, and wear a seal or a cord around the neck; they were given a diploma, paid a tax and were forbidden to marry, for whoever married them would be put to death.<sup>4)</sup> He marvelled, too, at the silk robes of the Chinese, some of transparent silk; a eunuch displayed five layers of robe to a merchant.<sup>5)</sup>

Chinese Records of Arabia. — The Chinese were equally impressed by the Arabs, and had a fairly accurate knowledge of their distant land. The T'ang history had said:

Ta-shih was originally part of Persia. The men have high noses, are black, and bearded. The women are very fair, and when they go out they veil the face. Five times daily they worship God. They wear silver girdles, with silver knives suspended. They do not drink wine nor use music. Their place of worship will accommodate several hundreds of people. Every seventh day the king (Caliph) sits on high and speaks to those below saying: "Those who are

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<sup>1)</sup> Sauvaget. *Relation*. p. xix, and p. 60 note 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., sect. 34, note 5.

<sup>4)</sup> Ferrand. *Voyage de l'Arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine*. Paris, 1922. p. 79-80.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid., p. 83-4.



killed by the enemy will receive happiness." Therefore they are usually valiant fighters. Their land is sandy, and stony, not fit for cultivation, so they hunt and eat flesh...<sup>1)</sup>

When Ibn Wakhḥāb had his interview with the Chinese emperor in c. 815, he reported that the emperor produced pictures of the prophets, amongst whom he recognized Noah, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed.<sup>2)</sup>

Ch'ang-an Described by Ibn Wakhḥāb. — When he returned home Ibn Wakhḥāb was questioned about the city of Khumdān (Sogdian name for Ch'ang-an) where the emperor kept his court, and he replied that:

The city was very large, and extensively populous; that it was divided into two great parts by a very long and broad street; that the Emperor, his chief ministers, the soldiery, the supreme Judge, the eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial Household, lived in that part of the city which is on the right hand eastward; that the people had no manner of communication with them, and they were not admitted into the places watered by canals from different rivers, whose borders were planted with trees and adorned with magnificent dwellings. The part on the left hand westward, was inhabited by the people and the merchants, where were also great squares, and markets for all the necessities of life. At break of day you see the Officers of the King's Household, with the inferior servants, the purveyors, and the domestics of the grantees of the court, some on foot, others on horseback, who come into that division of the city where there are public markets, and the habitations of the merchants, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same place till the next morning.<sup>3)</sup>

*Ch'ang-an, Capital City.* — A plan of the ancient city of Ch'ang-an<sup>4)</sup> confirms the story of Ibn Wakhḥāb — it was indeed a great square, divided in two parts by a broad thoroughfare which led to the enclosures of the Imperial City and Palace City towards the north. Streets were carefully laid out, every part of it a logical expression of the Chinese love of order and propriety, with the palace facing south, the propitious

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<sup>1)</sup> Mason, I. "How Islam Entered China." In *The Moslem World*, XIX, July, 1929, p. 258.

<sup>2)</sup> Drake. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>3)</sup> Broomhall, M. *Islam in China*. London, 1910. p. 45-6.

<sup>4)</sup> des Rotours, R. *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*. Paris, 1948. Plan I, Appendix II, and Bingham W. "Li Shih-min's Coup in A.D. 606." *JAOS*, vol. 70, n. 4 1950, p. 259; and Hiraoka, T. *Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang*; T'ang Civilization Series, Kyoto University, Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyu Shu, 1956.



direction, and the city before it divided into Right or Left. It inspired the Japanese to model their new capital at Nara on the same scheme, and is still acclaimed as an early example of city planning (See Plan).

Here it was that the temples to the foreign gods were built, here the caravans of gifts and tribute stopped; here the outlanders gathered and spoke in their strange tongues, ate their strange food, wore their strange clothes. Here the fashion for foreign things spread out in all directions as traditional Chinese ways were modified by Barbarian customs.

Market Places of Ch'ang-an. — Here it was that the two great market places were set aside for trade and the manufacture of goods. There were merchants associations called *hang* (ch. 7), a name which came to be applied to a street or a street block consisting of shops dealing in the same goods, or engaged in the same trade. The markets were provided with hundreds of warehouses running along the outer wall of the district. It was said that there were 220 *hang* in the Ch'ang-an market, and the *hang* were surrounded on four sides by warehouses filled with rare and curious goods of the whole country.

There was a street of butchers' shops, and other streets where various foodstuffs could be bought; some streets were given over to iron ware, or objects of other metals; there were the streets for bridles and saddles, streets for scales and measures, for medicines, and drapers' needs. Probably a sign was hung at the entrance of each such *hang*, giving its name; that must have been especially true of early T'ang times when restrictions were rigidly enforced. Later, the regulations were ignored and shops came to be located out of the assigned areas. Then, too, merchants in the same trade still banded together in a *hang*.<sup>1)</sup>

*Importance of Figurines in Giving Picture of Foreigners of T'ang Times.* — Perhaps it was in the market places that the shops of the image-makers were located. No doubt there were rooms filled with figurines of all sizes and types, some glazed, some unglazed, ready for inspection and purchase by people of different rank, and greater or less affluence. No doubt there were workrooms where master-designer and apprentices were busy shaping the clay, preparing some pieces for the kiln, applying nearly-liquid glaze slip to others for a second firing.

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<sup>1)</sup> Kato, S. "On the Hang or the Association of Merchants in China." *Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunko*, vol. XIII, Tokyo, 1936, p. 46-70.



From windows looking out upon the crowded streets, or on the thoroughfares themselves, the bright, inquisitive eyes took in the changing scene, noting every detail of dress or gait or physiognomy as the big-nosed people, or the swarthy-skinned people, or the curly-haired people came to sell their wares or make their purchases. By a pressure of the hand, a quick touch of the modellers' stick, a bit of clay was added and curled into a moustache, and the modeller had created his form-peddler, or wine merchant, hostler or sage, part of the record of T'ang times. Slight though they are, the figurines supplement history, and sometimes are a testimony more eloquent than words to the cosmopolitan life of China long ago. The peoples of Asia, ancestors of Turks and Russians, Hindus and Persians, Afghans, Arabs and many others, all were there to seek their fortunes, or to share their riches and knowledge with the adventurous ones who had crossed through Sinkiang to China, to become a part of the life of the Middle Kingdom.



## CHAPTER II.

### A STUDY OF CHINESE COSTUME IN ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE FIGURINES

*Pre-T'ang Dress: Han and Wei.* — In the Han and post-Han periods, both men and women wore long flowing robes which were closed by crossing them in front, and they were held in place by a sash or belt. The sleeves were full from shoulder to wrist, and long enough to cover the hands when folded in the attitude of respect. These gowns reached the floor, or, in the case of most of the women, they billowed about the feet, and must have made a pleasant whispering sound when the ladies walked.<sup>1)</sup> They were decorous and graceful garments which concealed the body; in cut, they show little variety and change for several centuries, but there must have been a considerable choice of pattern and color of fabric, suited to different occasions and to the different social stations of the wearers (Fig. 2).

When the T'o-pa Tatars occupied north China they wore two-piece costumes, to judge by their donor portraits in the Yün-kang caves (Fig. 3), and by the stele of A.D. 457.<sup>2)</sup> Women were clad in a fitted jacket or tunic with tight sleeves worn over a long pleated skirt, like the Persians, while the men wore the equestrian garb of trousers, jacket, and boots of Parthian or early Altaic origin.<sup>3)</sup> As the Tatars came under the spell of Chinese culture they began to wear the flowing robes of Han style; the stele of the Birth of Buddha of A.D. 546,<sup>4)</sup> and the donors of the Lung-mên caves demonstrate that traditional dress had conquered the conquerors, and had entered Buddhist art from Chinese secular life.<sup>5)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> *Toledo Museum Catalogue*. Op. cit., figs. 206 and 218 on p. 12; the Kokka no. 446, Jan. 1928, a Han lacquer box; Chavannes, E. *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, Paris, 1913, vol. II, nos. 48, 104, 116; and pl. I of this text.

<sup>2)</sup> Sirén. *Chinese Sculpture*. Op. cit., vol. II, pl. 117, and pl. 70, dated 495.

<sup>3)</sup> Rudenko, S. I. *Gornaltaiskie Nakhodki i Skify*. Moscow, 1952, pl. 33.

<sup>4)</sup> Sirén. Op. cit., pl. 185.

<sup>5)</sup> Sickman, L. and Soper, A. *The Art and Architecture of China*. Penguin, New York, 1956, pl. 32 B.



Importance of Donor Portraits in Establishing a Datable Sequence. — In the sixth century, a time of great religious activity and piety, there were hundreds of memorial slabs dedicated to the Buddha. Many of them bear dated inscriptions from the beginning of the sixth century through 551, and most of them include the images of the donors in great scheme of the design.<sup>1)</sup> Changing fashion was linked to a reliable chronology. Officials and people of importance wear voluminous garments with sleeves that are tight from shoulder to elbow, and very wide from elbow to wrist: men often wear high stiff hats, while women generally have more elaborate coiffures than in Han times; otherwise they dress much alike in robes resembling those of the past. Serving people, especially grooms, wear full trousers held in at the knee with bands, and short jackets with sleeves rolled up, or short sleeves (Fig. 3).

*Sui Dynasty Dress: Influence of Kuchā.* — It must have been after 550, probably about 590 in the Sui period, that the ladies of the court were won over to the styles of Kuchā which had doubtless been introduced by musicians and dancers from Persia and Central Asia, as we have noted on pages 19, 20. The long robe was discarded for the form-fitting jacket or bodice which was moulded to the bust, and cut to a low décolletage which must have caused a sensation when first seen at court<sup>2)</sup> (Fig. 4). For ladies of fashion, this style, with its stiffened shoulder ornaments and sleeve projections, pleated cuffs, skirt panels of elaborate design, and coiffures both fanciful and dramatic, must have been a delight and a challenge<sup>3)</sup> (Fig. 7). The Chinese court shoe, which resembles a boat with a high prow, was worn with these elaborate gowns. All of this was continued into the early T'ang period.

Men of official rank wore the shoe as well as women.<sup>4)</sup> It was popular in the Wu-tê era (618 to 626) and great importance was attached to the manufacture of the footgear; at first the shoes were made from leather, but later on cloth was preferred. They were still being worn a hundred years later in the K'ai-yüan era (713 to 741).

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<sup>1)</sup> Sirén. *Op. cit.*, pls. 95, 96, 121, 97, 127 B, 151, 153, 159, 109, 111, 144, 181, 185, 169, 171 and 199. In Tokiwa and Sekino, *Buddhist Monuments in China*. Tokyo, 1946. pls. 91, 92, 95, 97, 104, 124 and 150.

<sup>2)</sup> *Toledo Museum Catalogue*. *Op. cit.*, no. 127, pl. 8, a figurine from the Pillsbury collection of Minneapolis.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 32, 34 and 43 on pl. 14; Grousset. *De la Grèce*. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>4)</sup> Hentze. *Op. cit.*, p. 53, and figs. 69-71.



*Seventh Century T'ang Dress.* — For musicians, attendants, and ladies of less exalted position at court, modifications of the Qizil-Kuchā styles were current in the seventh and early eighth centuries,<sup>1)</sup> notably in the use of basque waists, fitted jackets with peplums, and pleated cuffs. Lady riders, Tocharian rather than Chinese in race, wear the fitted jacket or waist with tight sleeves, the long, full skirt, adorned with patterns drawn from Persian art and the *wei mao* "hat with skirts" (Plate XV). Most of these figurines are small in scale, either unglazed or covered with the light cream glaze of the Sui and early T'ang periods, a fact which places them chronologically in technique and style in these early centuries. Thus, with the costume analysis, we have a strong argument for so dating them.

*Foreign Ideas Brought into China.* — Historically, we have noted that China's trade and diplomatic relations with Kuchā and the West were at their height in the seventh and early eighth centuries, and that the normal exchange of fashion would come at such a time, which further buttresses our supposition.

*The Mu Li.* — No doubt the *mu li*, the long mantle which covered the body, came from Western Asia. It was spoken of in the T'ang History, in the chapter on costumes and carriages, as being popular during the Sui and early T'ang periods.<sup>2)</sup> "When the palace ladies rode horseback they mostly wore the *mu li*; since the Yung-hui era (650), they have worn the *wei mao*. The *mu li* originated among foreigners; it covers the entire body, protecting it from the curious glances of people on the street." For a charming example of the *mu li* see Plate XXXI, and a sketch after Lo Chên-yü.<sup>3)</sup> I am indebted to Alexander Soper for a reference to a *mu li* of spectacular richness; Sui Wen-ti's son, prince Yang Chün, "had a *mu li* of the seven Precious Substances made for his favorite. It was too heavy for her to hold up by herself, so when she went out it was borne by a horse."<sup>4)</sup>

We have noted the use of the long, loose cloak from Achae-

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<sup>1)</sup> See Pl. VII a, b, c; Pl. XIII; Pl. XIV; Pl. XV a, b, c.

<sup>2)</sup> Hsiang Ta. *Ch'ang-an in the T'ang*. Op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ku Ming Ch'i t'u lu* — 1916, pl. 7, fig. 3; see sketch, Fig. 5 c.

<sup>4)</sup> From the *Hsü Shih Shou*, IX, a Sung anthology of anecdotes of earlier times, Soper, A. *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*. Washington, 1951. P. 125, note 160 and p. 127, note 177.



menid times in Persia (p. 16); it was used there as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to judge by miniature paintings of those eras.<sup>1)</sup>

In cave 137 B, at Tun-huang<sup>2)</sup> donors are depicted as wearing long cloaks which cover the entire body; these are made with sleeves, but the sleeves are not used. We have pointed out similar garments, which were derived from Persia, illustrated in the painting from Khocho,<sup>3)</sup> and worn by some figurines (Plate XII; Fig. 5). They, too, may have been called *mu li*.

The *Wei Mao*. — After 650 the *wei mao* began to replace the *mu li*; instead of the long mantle covering the body, lady riders wore the "sun helmets." This hat, worn long before by Bactrian rulers,<sup>4)</sup> had been adopted by Tocharian ladies, to judge by the figurines which seem to be of the fair inhabitants of Kuchā (Plate XV), and Turfān,<sup>5)</sup> who used it as a natural means of protecting their delicate skins. Hat and scarf were quite evidently worn together, making the "hat with skirts" described by the Chinese. Such a use of the veil, at this time, was not a Turkic custom in origin, and certainly not yet a part of Moslem practice, for it may be earlier than Mohammed; the implication of Chu Shih-chia<sup>6)</sup> that this was so is no doubt influenced by later association of Moslem Turkish women who covered the face as a part of their religious custom. Fortunately, some of the T'ang figurines are made with removable hats; we can see that the hair was dressed in a soft knot on top of the head to hold the "sun helmet," and the veil was draped over the head and neck, sometimes extending well down the back.

This coiffure, with the hair piled high on top of the head, was prevalent enough in the Kuchā-Qizil oasis to have influenced the makers of religious images; the devatās of the Buddhist pantheon are depicted

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<sup>1)</sup> Dimand, M. *Handbook of Mohammedan Art*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1944. Figs. 23 and 24.

<sup>2)</sup> Pelliot. *Op. cit.*, vol. V, pl. CCXCVI.

<sup>3)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Chotscho*. *Op. cit.*, pl. 7.

<sup>4)</sup> Newell, E. *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*. New York, 1937, pl. X, figs. 10 and 11; Grousset. *De la Grèce*. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>5)</sup> Stein. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pl. 121.

<sup>6)</sup> See his review of Hsiang Ta's "Ch'ang-an of the T'ang" in the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. VII, Nov. 1947, p. 67.



in this way.<sup>1)</sup> Later, the Bodhisattvas of the T'ang period will be distinguished by the same coiffure, as will those of Japan.<sup>2)</sup>

It probably entered into Chinese secular life in the Sui period, for we see that ladies then began to pile their hair up, instead of parting it in the middle and combing it demurely to the nape of the neck as they had in Han times (cf. Plates I and XIV). For the next two centuries this fashion, the *tui chi*, was continued with modifications; the hair was brushed up on top of the head and arranged in a knot or loop, artificially stiffened, one would suspect, and sometimes carried to hazardous extremes.<sup>3)</sup> Dancers, musicians, and younger women parted the hair at the back of the head and arranged it in two knobs, one above each ear (Plates VII a, and XVI).

Other Foreign Hats. — When the coiffure became too elaborate for the *wei mao*, a hood of the parka type was fitted over the head, much as a teacozy is fitted over a teapot (Plate VIII, 1<sup>st</sup> on right). The *wei mao*, or some variation of it was worn by men as well as women. In the Shōsōin collection there is a snapping bow ornamented with ninety-six little figures, old and young, male and female, jugglers, acrobats, dancers, fencers, and musicians, some of whom wear the "Western Hats" with hollow crowns and stiff brims<sup>4)</sup> (Plate XLI). A painting from a musical instrument<sup>5)</sup> depicts a landscape with foreigners riding on an elephant, men and boys who are musicians and acrobats, who also wear high-crowned hats. A gaming board in the same collection<sup>6)</sup> has, as inlay patterns, a huntsman using a bow and arrow at a flying gallop, and a man riding a smiling elephant, both of whom wear the Western Asiatic headgear. All of these, of course, had been designed before 750, for they had been acquired by the Emperor Shōmu before his abdication and retirement to monastic life.

Many interesting hats with high crowns and straight or fanciful brims are to be seen in the Tun-huang murals. In cave 17 bis<sup>7)</sup> and even among the mourners at the death of the Buddha<sup>8)</sup> some

<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*. Op. cit., figs. 175-185.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 90-92.

<sup>3)</sup> *Toledo Museum Catalogue*. Op. cit., no. 27, pl. 12; no. 107 and 237 on pl. 13.

<sup>4)</sup> From Shōsōin Catalogue. Op. cit., vol. VIII, pl. 40.

<sup>5)</sup> Toyo Bijutsu Taikwan. vol. 8, pl. 1.

<sup>6)</sup> Shōsōin Catalogue. Op. cit., vol. I, pls. 57, 58, 59.

<sup>7)</sup> Pelliot. Op. cit., vol. II, pl. xlv.

<sup>8)</sup> Ibid., vol. I, pl. LXIV.



strange and wonderful hats are worn, usually by non-Chinese. As late as the ninth and tenth centuries in Turfān a hat similar to the sun helmet was in use.<sup>1)</sup>

*Eighth Century Trends.* — In the early eighth century by the time Hsüan-tsung, or Ming-huang, came to the throne in 713, we recall that we are told:

the palace maids who followed the imperial carriage on horseback mostly wore Hu hats, and exposed their prettily painted faces. The common people emulated them, and the *wei mao* fashion was absolutely out. After a while they did not use any headcovering when riding, and some wore men's clothes and boots; highborn and lowborn, men and women — all looked alike.<sup>2)</sup>

*Women Dressed as Men When Riding.* — A study of the figurines bears out this statement, for there are women dressed as men riding horseback; they, and the girls playing polo (Plate XXX) no doubt were designed at this time by the *ming-ch'i* makers. We may recall also the note in the Annals for the year 717, when two polo ponies were sent as a gift from Khotan to the emperor, which lends further credence to our supposition that, with the popularity of polo in the K'ai-yüan era, these little statues were manufactured in the early eighth century. The equestriennes are small in scale and unglazed, which also would indicate their production in this period,<sup>3)</sup> for it was stipulated that figurines composing the entourage in a funerary set were to be under one foot high.

*Eighth Century Peak in Popularity for Foreign Fads.* — It was under the same emperor that the taste for all that was rare and exotic was encouraged. Foreign music and dancing were sponsored at the court, foreign food and wine were served at the tables of the nobility, and "men and women vied with one another in wearing Barbarian clothes," and even the horses wore Persian trappings.

*Chain-mail Borrowed from the West.* — Under Hsüan-tsung, to judge by statutes drawn up during his reign, there were thirteen classes of armor manufactured by the Imperial Armory.<sup>4)</sup> These included

<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Bilderatlas*. Fig. 42.

<sup>2)</sup> Hsiang Ta. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>3)</sup> See Chart on Regulations. p. 130.

<sup>4)</sup> Laufer, B. *Chinese Clay Figures*. Part. I. Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor. Field Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. XIII, no. 2, Chicago, 1914, p. 292.



cuirasses of rhinoceros hide and buffalo hide, plate-mail, and chain-mail. Chain-mail had been introduced from the Iranian regions, the "only type of armor borrowed and imported by China directly from a foreign country." <sup>1)</sup> Chain-mail worn by a Sassanian monarch in the early seventh century may be seen in the statue of Chosroes II at Taq-i-Bustan, <sup>2)</sup> and it will be remembered that the King of Samarkand sent a suit of mail in 718.

Other Types of Armor. — Plate-mail was used extensively in the reign of Tai-tsung, after 763; his president of the Board of War, Ma Sui, invented a coat of linen or silk, the exterior or interior of which was covered with rows of small iron or steel plates. The helmet worn with this was in the form of a lion <sup>3)</sup> (Plates XXXVII, and XXXVIII *d*).

In Shensi the warriors wore armor of the sheet type, consisting of two plastrons held together by a clasp in the shape of an animal's head, and worn with an apron of metal plates; the helmet-mask was in the form of an eagle's head. A scarf was worn around the shoulders, knotted in front; this, too, was doubtless an importation from Persia where the shoulder scarf was so often a part of Sassanian attire.

The Honan men had peaked helmets, and protected their bodies with iron sheet armor over which a leather jerkin with circular cut-outs was pulled. Their long, full trousers were tied above the knee as they had been in Wei times <sup>4)</sup> (Plate XXXVI). Early figurines were generally made of white clay covered by a cream glaze, and further decorated with unfired pigments; the extensive use of red and black (which may still be seen on some that have been carefully handled) recalls the descriptions of the Wei armies given by the Byzantine author Simocatta. The North China divisions seem to have continued to wear red and black in the early T'ang period.

Taller and more elaborately glazed figures resemble the Buddhist Lokapāla that were a familiar part of religious sculpture in Lung-mên and Tun-huang. In the T'ang period they were clad in colorful armor of the Chinese type, and, unless shown with their proper attributes (spear, pagoda, etc.) or standing on their "vehicles" (small mis-shapen yakshas or dwarfs), they look like officers of Western extraction. At times their faces wore terrifying expressions more appropriate to myth-

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 253.

<sup>2)</sup> *Survey*. Op. cit., pl. 161 A.

<sup>3)</sup> Laufer. Op. cit., p. 276-7.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., p. 277-9.



ological deities designed to frighten away evil spirits than to army officers or the members of the emperor's guard, but there are some that might be either (Plate XL). It will be recalled that under Su-tsung (756 to 762) his guardsmen were fitted out like these Kings of the Four Directions, and that even in Japan courtiers were dressed as Bodhisattvas on ceremonial occasions; Buddhist influence was strong in court circles and pageantry.

Eighth Century Dress for Women. — To return to the eighth century fashions for women, we have noted (p. 32) that the most popular dress was the high-waisted, long-sleeved blouse worn with a pleated skirt (Plate VIII, and Fig. 8). The round neck, more conservative in cut than the court fashion of the previous century, and the stole, or scarf of Persian origin, were an established style at that time. This we assume because women wear such dresses in paintings copied after eighth century originals (noted on p. 31), in donor portraits on dated sculptural monuments,<sup>1)</sup> and because small figurines placed in the Five-storeyed Pagoda of the Hōryū-ji in Japan in 711 also wear them.<sup>2)</sup> These latter were not used as a part of funerary practice, though in scale, style and technique, they closely resemble the *ming-ch'i*, for they were made of clay, painted in colors, overlaid with gold-leaf, and they express a great variety of feeling — they were placed in the pagoda as dramatis personae taking part in one of the scenes relating to the worship of the Buddha at the foot of Mt. Sumeru, as were some in Tun-huang,<sup>3)</sup> and seem to be entirely Chinese in style.

For ladies of more ample proportions, and legend has it that the favorite of Hsüan-tsung, the fabulous Yang Kuei-fei, was the one who established the fashion of *avoirdu pois*, there was a modification of the high-waisted type of dress. A scarf was draped gently about the plump neck, full sleeves covered the ample arms and hands but did not bind them, and a long, full skirt concealed the rest of the uncorseted lady; a sash tied under the arms marked a non-existent waist-line, and took

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<sup>1)</sup> Sirén. *Chinese Sculpture*. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. 412, of a stele dated A.D. 726; vol. IV, pl. 479, a stele dated 734; and vol. IV, pls. 482-483, parts of a shrine dated 704, which shows both men and women donors. Tokiwa and Sekino. Op. cit., vol. I, pl. 25, stele dated 703.

<sup>2)</sup> See: *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the Hōryū-ji*, vol. IV, pl. 24, and the *Kokusui Bunka Shinkokai Lantern Slide Catalogue of Japanese Sculpture*. Tokyo, 1937. p. 13.

<sup>3)</sup> Pelliot. Op. cit., vol. IV, pl. CCCXXVI.



the place of the fitted jacket of earlier days, enhancing the effect of sweeping curves which were obtained from shoulder to hem.

In perfect harmony with these curves was the full-moon face, supported by the firm column of the throat, held high as a rule so that the double chins were displayed in all their splendor. The hair, of course, could not have been brushed severely back; it was allowed to loop over the forehead and around the face, crowned by a bulbous top-knot which might be set at a rakish angle or allowed to droop over one eye (Plate XL). The facial expression of such ladies ranges from blank amiability to disdainful hauteur, or even disagreeable petulance. As we see them in the paintings, either preparing silk, or fatigued by embroidering, or listening to music,<sup>1)</sup> we sense the burden as well as the glory of their impressive size, so eloquent a testimony of China's well-being at the time. They must have known what it was to sit at a banquet like that given to Chü-yüan, when fifty-eight varieties of food were served, including "longevity gruel" and white "dragon-brain," "unborn phoenix," "sweet snow," fairy meat (slices of chicken in milk), or hasty cakes, "broiled dragon whiskers," "purple dragon dumplings," and elephant tusk (ivory colored) dumplings.<sup>2)</sup>

The slim lithe girls who rode horseback must have tittered and made remarks about the noble ladies, for both fashions were prevalent in the eighth century. Screens in the Shōsōin Collection, and a painting brought back by Count Otani from Qarakhōja,<sup>3)</sup> lined with census papers bearing the date of the fourth year of the K'ai-yüan era, or 716, depict ladies of this matronly type.

Both of these fashions must have continued through much of the eighth century. It is important to establish them chronologically, for it then allows us to assign undated works to the Hsüan-tsung and Sutsung eras which portray women in such costumes, painted in a style characteristic of the period. Some temple banners from Tun-huang<sup>4)</sup>, the murals of Tun-huang<sup>5)</sup> and the murals of Wan Fo Hsia,<sup>6)</sup> as well as the countless figurines which bear no date, most probably were

<sup>1)</sup> See pp. 31-32.

<sup>2)</sup> Edwards. *Chinese Prose*. Op. cit., p. 192-3.

<sup>3)</sup> See the Kokka no. 358, March 1920, pl. III, and the *Nishi-Hong-wan-ji seiki koko zufu*. Tokyo, 1940. p. 2.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein. *Thousand Buddhas*, pl. X, and vignette on title page; pl. XI, and the embroidery of pls. XXXIV and XXXV; Stein. *Serindia*, pl. LXXIV, ch. 00114.

<sup>5)</sup> Pelliot. Op. cit., vol. IV, cave 120 G, pl. CCXLVIII and CCXLIX; cave 140, pl. CCCVII in vol. V.

<sup>6)</sup> Warner. Op. cit., pl. XXXV.



executed originally at that time in China's history. These last are usually glazed in the green, yellow, brown and blue splash or drip techniques which seem to have been later than the cream overglaze of Sui and Early T'ang and made at a time of widespread prosperity when many could afford the *ming-ch'i* and when there was considerable demand for them; the early eighth century, historically, meets this requirement.

Seventh and Eighth Century Male Dress. — In the seventh century the average citizen of the male population, judging by donor portraits, had changed from the long robe to a tunic of medium length with a high round neck and medium sleeve; this was worn over trousers and held in by a narrow belt.<sup>1)</sup> In the banners of the eighth century,<sup>2)</sup> they wear similar tunics which are longer, reaching to the ankles, and they wear on the head a distinctive black cap, which usually had tails or short streamers hanging down the back, though in the Boston Shrines, dated 704, two of the male donors wear caps with tabs extending at right angles.<sup>3)</sup> Men engaged in vigorous occupations, such as grooms, oarsmen, executioners, and acrobats, wore short tunics, lapels open, and trousers and boots (Plate XVIII and Fig. 9). Some figurines belonging to a remarkable set which came with a rubbing of an inscribed stone which was found with them, showing that they were deposited in the tomb of Chancellor Liu T'ing-hsün, d. A.D. 728,<sup>4)</sup> are dressed in this way. In the Tun-huang murals, also, they may be seen in several dramatic episodes.<sup>5)</sup>

Dignitaries of the seventh and eighth centuries wore jackets that were sometimes covered with "plastrons" like those in fashion in Kuchā, and the Chinese adopted pleated cuffs and bands like the Kuchāns (Fig. 6). The jacket usually crossed in front, had sleeves of medium width, and was ornamented with brocaded or embroidered borders. Skirts or full trousers covered the entire leg, and court shoes curved up from below the hem of the garment.

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<sup>1)</sup> Chavannes, E. *Six Monuments de la Sculpture Chinoise*, *Ars Asiatica*. Paris, 1914. vol. II, pl. LII, a monument dated A.D. 670.

<sup>2)</sup> See note 4, p. 114.

<sup>3)</sup> See note 1, p. 113.

<sup>4)</sup> Hobson. *Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue*. p. xx and nos. 270-282, and 291-2.

<sup>5)</sup> Pelliot. *Op. cit.*, pl. CCXXVII, CCCVIII and CCCXI.



Donor Portraits of the Ninth Century. — Donor portraits of the ninth century show little change in male dress, except that the sleeves of the tunic are somewhat fuller, lined with a lighter material. The tabs of the black caps, stiffened and extending out at the sides are more universally worn.<sup>1)</sup> The women donatrices of this same period wear dresses which are a modification of the eighth century style for the plump; there is a medium sleeve, a shawl still worn over the shoulders, and the hair still combed up into a fan-shaped loop on top of the head. Historically we remember that China's fortunes were waning after the Arab defeat of 751 and trouble with Tibet in the Tarim Basin. It was natural that fewer embassies came bearing gifts of jewels and fabrics, and even the "tribute" of the horses — and their grooms — began to decline. There were not as many people from the Western lands to enliven the streets of Ch'ang-an. Of the outlanders, the Uighur Turks were closest to the Chinese in the ninth century, and it was from them that certain influences came into tenth century fashion.

Uighur Styles Influence Tenth Century Fashion. — This is manifest in the portraits of the donors on the Tun-huang banners, which we turn to because production in sculpture was curtailed by that time. The ladies of the banners wore an increasing number of hairpins of all colors and shapes which projected out from the head, as did combs and ribbons and bands, flowers, fruits, birds and butterflies, and golden leaves. Long earrings reached to the shoulder, and must have tinkled as they walked; necklaces of elaborate workmanship were worn close to the throat, several at once. Their robes, and they had returned to the long gown with exaggerated, wide cuffs, were adorned with embroidered sleeve bands, neck panels, and sashes, as rich as the costumes of Turfān. Like the ladies of Turfān, they painted their faces, and the colors used, orange and dark red, are similar to the Turkic tonalities there.<sup>2)</sup> This love for the ornate had increased as the century progressed, marking a decline in taste from the elegance of earlier days, coming at a time of Uighur occupation from c. 847 to 1031<sup>3)</sup> (Fig. 12).

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<sup>1)</sup> Stein. *Thousand Buddhas*. pl. XVI, of a banner dated A.D. 864; and *Serindia*. pl. XC, banner dated 890.

<sup>2)</sup> Stein. *Thousand Buddhas*. pl. XXV, dated 963; *Serindia*. pl. LXI, dated 971; pl. LXVI, dated 983, pl. LXVII, dated 963, pl. LXXX, dated 910, and pl. C, dated 947; and Thompson, D. "Dated Rolls from Ch'ien Fo-tung in the British Museum." Calcutta, Rupam, no. 30, 1927.

<sup>3)</sup> Stein. *Innermost Asia*. vol. II, p. 581-86.



Men, again, were more conservative than women. The principal changes to be noted in their portraits were the greater emphasis given to the black tabs on their caps, which normally stood out at right angles to the head, stiffened with lacquer or starch, and the longer slit in the black tunic which allowed a colored undergarment to show; a colored belt was worn very low, below the normal waistline. In the banner of 983, a donor is bearded, another indication of Uighur influence.

Though many statuettes, the majority of them in fact, resemble the dated donor portraits of the eighth century, I have not observed any figurines dressed like the people on the banners of the late ninth and tenth centuries. We have noted that trade and diplomatic relations were in a state of decline beyond China's western border, and that internal struggles must have given a sense of insecurity at home. Few could afford the luxury of burial figurines, perhaps, so it was no longer worth while to design new types showing changes in fashion; old ones may have been used, or the very custom of burying them in the tomb may have changed radically as the T'ang dynasty drew near final collapse. Judging them by costume, by size, and by a study of the glaze, most of the *ming-ch'i* that we have presented belong to the seventh and eighth centuries, to the time when the travelers to the Middle Kingdom from Western lands brought fabrics and jewels, arms and armor, furs from the steppes, drugs from India, new foods and wine, perfumes and pearls, blackamoors and dwarfs, all of the marvels of the world that lay beyond the Jade Gate of Tun-huang.



### CHAPTER III.

#### TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE FIGURINES

*Late Chou Figures.* — The earliest sets of clay figurines associated with burial practice in China are those of the Late Chou (Warring States) period from Hui-hsien, northern Honan, which have been attracting attention since 1935.<sup>1)</sup> They are small, some from three and a half to four inches high, others about two inches high, made of soft gray clay, soft enough to be scratched with a nail, never hard-baked, evidently fired at a low temperature, and ornamented with red pigment on a surface which has the appearance of being burnished. Though they are so small, many of them express great animation, but only through bodily expression, for the faces consist of one flat plane from which the nose protrudes as a long thin wedge from the forehead (Fig. 1). The position of the arms, especially, suggests dancing or the playing of musical instruments, as the arms swing out from the body, but are supported somewhat by the sleeves which are very wide at the armhole and then tapered to a tight cuff. The dress of the ladies is astonishingly close to that of the T'ang period of about a thousand years later, consisting of a high waist and long, pleated skirt rather than the flowing robe of the Han period (Fig. 2). Unlike later and larger figurines, these are solid except for a little hole in the center of the base which might have served to keep them on a stand, or may have been used in the baking process. For such small objects, they are surprisingly heavy.

The larger wooden figurines, also of the Late Chou period, coming from the Ch'ang-sha area seem to be the real prototypes for Han funerary sculpture, being much nearer in costume, size, and style. All of the dignity dear to the Chinese soul, the sense of etiquette and ceremony, are conveyed by these men and women in their long gowns. They are

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<sup>1)</sup> Loehr, Max. *Clay Figurines and Facsimiles from the Warring States Period*. Monumenta Serica, XI, 1946, p. 326 et seq.; and Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin, Dec. 1949, no. 8, and Lee, J. G. "A Report on some Known Forgeries of the Hui-hsien type", Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin, vol. VI, no. 1, March 1954, p. 2.



carved in simple planes, showing that the sculptor respected his material and sought, by using a minimum of detail, to convey the maximum of expressiveness.<sup>1)</sup>

*Han Figurines: Materials and Styles.* — Some of the clay figurines of the next great period, the Han, were equally tall and dignified. They were modelled around a large piece of wood which served as an armature, and strengthened the neck, holding the head to the body in spite of top-heaviness. Though this was a relatively primitive way of fashioning a statue, it was continued as late as the T'ang period; a large figure, here identified as a Khotanese (Plate XXVII) was made on a rough piece of wood which was withdrawn when the statuette was finished. This method was employed in North India and in Central Asia, in Khotan and Turfan.

Vast numbers of clay objects had been made in the Han period, some to amuse children,<sup>2)</sup> and some to be put into graves. There still remain models of houses, watchtowers, courtyards full of animals, cook-stoves, vessels and utensils, implements, carts, horses, fantastic beasts and supernatural beings, musicians and mummers, soldiers and servants. People representing various stations of life, their gear and their pets, were gathered together to console the departed spirit.

Many of them were glazed in the well known green or brown lead silicate which has taken on a pearly iridescence after long years of burial in the earth. Though craftsmen of that time were capable of modelling active and amusing figures, such as the little acrobats of the R.O.M.A. of Toronto, they paid little attention to individual traits, facial expression, or details of anatomical structure. It is not even possible at all times to distinguish men from women, for they wore similar garments, the kimono-like robe which concealed the body; the craftsmen did not seem to be interested as much in masculinity or femininity as they were in deportment. Such simplification of form as they used indicates keen observation of nature tempered by a preference for ignoring detail.

*The Six Dynasties Period: Change in Style Due to Western Influence.* — It was during the period of the Six Dynasties, when north China was

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<sup>1)</sup> Sickman, L. and Soper, A. *Art and Architecture of China*. Penguin, 1956, pl. 10.

<sup>2)</sup> Balázs, Etienne. "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han." In T'oung Pao, no. 39, p. 101, 1949.



occupied by "Barbarians" that a marked change in attitude seems to have taken place. Though sculptors still were not too vitally interested in the problems of anatomy and the "correct" realistic rendering of the body, they began to portray individuals, people of different personalities, and even of different nationalities. The Chinese sense of humor was still manifest (Plates II and XXXII) and the old Chinese idea of expressing much through simple means was the guiding principle, but other non-Chinese ideals seemed to be operating at the same time, and I suggest that it was the inspiration from Haḍḍā and the related centers of northwest India and the Ganges Valley which brought this about.

As we have seen (p. 81), production on a large scale was carried on there from the third to the fifth centuries A.D., at a time when trade and travel to the Far East made it possible for ideas and images to reach China. Enriched by the Hellenistic tradition drawn from Bactria and Parthia<sup>1)</sup> and trade with Rome in the Augustan period, created as a part of the expression of piety in a Buddhist community, they had a far-reaching effect which we have noted on both the Southern Trade Route and the Northern. The Haḍḍā terra cottas were generally small in scale, they were made in moulds, and they could be easily transported; they were not glazed; it remained for China to add that beauty in the Sui and T'ang periods.

Though Haḍḍā was destroyed by the Hephthalites in the fifth century, the influence of its sculpture extended beyond the date of its destruction, in time and space. The new interest in individuality, in differences of nationality, rank, occupation, temperament, so limited in earlier Chinese sculpture, seems to have been drawn from that distant place, and at a time when the rulers of north China, the Wei Tatars, also controlled the Central Asian cities of the Northern Route where Greco-Buddhist art of the Haḍḍā style was flourishing. Further opportunity for this penetration into China is suggested by the arrival of Buddhist pilgrims from the Gandhāra regions,<sup>2)</sup> as well as by unrecorded voyagers. Not only in subject matter and style is there every indication of the march eastward of this art, but in technique, also; Taxila and Haḍḍā seem to be the mother schools for craftsmen in the oasis cities (p. 128).

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<sup>1)</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2)</sup> See Appendix I.



*Typical Tomb Retinue.* — The importance of the military during the years of unrest in the Six Dynasties period is reflected in the large group of figurines on exhibition in New York in April-May 1948.<sup>1)</sup> The whole procession consisted of a cavalry group, headed by a standard bearer, a pair of horsemen in full armor, six musicians, and ten outriders; then came a covered oxcart, and behind it lines of infantry preceded by four guards with shields, and four drummers, and after them, ten dignitaries, four officials, eight scribes, four attendants and ten armored guards. The entourage was made up of seventy-four pieces, all made of gray clay, unglazed, hollow, and under ten inches in height (Plate XXXIII).

*Limitations in Size and Number in the T'ang Period.* — By the T'ang period regulations had been passed stating the number and size of the "*ming-ch'i*" allowed according to the rank and importance of the deceased (see p. 130). Precious materials were forbidden, which placed the entire responsibility for output on the potters, and the demand seems to have been enormous. "The statuettes destined for funerals of princes were made by the department of model-makers and kept in a special store, from which it was customary to obtain statuettes necessary for the burial of distinguished ministers or members of their families."<sup>2)</sup>

For the average person, "ordinarily we may assume that a man before his death, or the family afterwards, went into a shop and picked out from the stock figures as many as he could afford."<sup>3)</sup> We can imagine the countless shops and kilns where all of this activity was carried on, and it must surely be due to the popularity of the little figures that more gifted modellers were at work in the Sui and T'ang periods than in earlier times. They raised the standard of the craft to a high level of folk art which is as popular in the twentieth century as it was in the seventh, eighth and ninth.

*Sui Period: Clay and Glaze.* — As a rule, the Sui Dynasty figures, and some of the early T'ang, were made of white clay in the Honan area,

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<sup>1)</sup> *An Exhibition of Chinese Terra Cotta Sculpture.* Oriental Fine Arts, Inc., New York, 1948. no. 17 in Catalogue.

<sup>2)</sup> Hentze, C. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>3)</sup> Fernald, Helen E. "Some Chinese Grave Figures," *Journal of the Pennsylvania Museum*, vol. XVII, no. 1, March 1926, p. 77.



and were covered with a creamy glaze which varies from tones of yellow to light brown and light green. Unfired pigments were added to increase the effect of realism and richness. After being removed from the moulds, glaze had been applied to the whole body, heads and hands included, and then patterns and accents were added in red, blue, green, black, and gold (Plates XIV and XV).

At this stage of our knowledge it is impossible to state exactly where the different kiln sites were, or where the different types of clay and glaze were found. It has been the general rule to assign all dark gray unglazed figures to the Six Dynasties period, but I doubt if we can be so arbitrary, for I have seen some of that type that are certainly T'ang in style and costume. So with the white-clay, white-glaze figures; I believe it unwise to say that all are of the Sui dynasty or early T'ang, rather that a parallel development may be observed in the making of bowls, plates, etc. There is a marked sophistication in decoration, and in the increased use of green, yellow, blue and brown glazes as the T'ang dynasty moved into the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>1)</sup>

*T'ang Clay and Glaze.* — In the superb collection of figurines in the R.O.M.A. Toronto, which came from tombs located in Honan province, unearthed when construction of a railroad was in progress, there are white-glazed and polychrome "*ming-ch'i*", as well as some left unglazed, all of the T'ang period. A few, apparently made in a different atelier, have colored glazes (green predominating) on a dark clay body, but the majority of the Toronto pieces are of polychrome glazes on a white clay body in which there are small pieces of foreign particles, red and black generally, which may have been added to the famous white Honan clay for better firing, in the opinion of Mr. William Todd, Restorer for the Museum.

Though I have searched in vain for a reliable chart of clay deposits in China, and have consulted geological reports,<sup>2)</sup> and questioned ceramic experts, my conclusion is that we cannot say with certainty that all dark clay figures were made in Shansi, all of white clay in Honan, all of yellowish-white (unglazed) in Ch'ang-sha, all of red clay in Szechüan, and all of blue-black in the Tun-huang area, though that

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<sup>1)</sup> See Hobson. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>2)</sup> Lee, J. S. *The Geology of China*. London, 1939. p. 426-441; and Wang, K. P. *The Mineral Industry of China*. Columbia University, King's Crown Press, May 1943.



seems to be the provenance in the majority of cases. Some extraordinarily beautiful examples of T'ang work have come to the United States in recent years, reputedly from Shensi graves.<sup>1)</sup>

*Methods of Assembling Models.* — The smaller T'ang figures were made in two moulds, then joined at the sides where the seams are still visible (Plate XXIV). Larger and more complex ones, such as the equestrians, were made in several pieces. Mr. William Todd, who has handled hundreds of them, some intàct and some badly broken, concluded that bodies of horses as far as the knee joints were made in one piece, but the heads and legs were added before firing. Sometimes tails of real horse hair were attached. The torso of the rider was made in one mould, with legs, arms and hands, and heads attached later. The heads, and perhaps the other extremities, were also made in moulds, though sometimes the arms and hands, legs and feet seem to have been freely modelled and were often left unglazed, but painted with unfired pigment to add to their realism. To insure safe firing, large pieces were left hollow inside, and one can even see authentic T'ang finger prints in the clay. One can imagine an atelier with all of the different parts arranged on racks, and figures newly come from the last firing in the kiln in their pristine beauty in colorful glazes.

No doubt the master artist designed each new type, studying costume, racial characteristics, and individual quirks of the people thronging the streets of the great cities for his inspiration. The stance of the soldier and the scholar, the dignitary and the dancer, the rug-merchant and the wineseller, the huntsman and the oxherd, were caught so accurately that they verge sometimes on caricature. Different expressions of the face, as well as more striking differences of ethnic type, were portrayed with equal fidelity. Thin lipped smiles and broad grins, dimpled cheeks and ascetic lean ones, twinkling eyes, and eyes as searching as those of a bird of prey, geniality, boredom, hauteur, exasperation, frightened docility, alertness or stupidity are suggested by slight differences of modelling, executed originally by the master designer.

After examining a great many figurines, one cannot help but surmise that the apprentices had a little fun, too, in putting together the different parts. By tilting a head to catch a shadow, by rearranging the arms or legs, an entirely different expression could be achieved.

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<sup>1)</sup> Paine, R. T., Jr. "A Chinese Horse with a Female Rider." Bull. of the M. F. A., Boston, Oct. 1948, no. 265, p. 54-55.



Sometimes the apprentices were a bit careless, attaching a head to a torso not intended for it; an amusing example of this kind of mixup is to be seen in the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, Canada (Plate XXXIV). The body is that of a man, usually called the falconer type, who wears a long, tight-fitting coat with wide lapels, a broad leather belt with tabs attached which held weapons, and he is shod in boots with pointed toes. Various male heads have been fitted to this type of body, generally handsome, rather haughty ones, giving an impression of pride and elegance. The Toronto figure, however, has had a lady's head attached to the broad-shouldered, slim-waisted, unfeminine body. The head is unglazed, to be sure, as the majority of them are; at one time it suffered a crack at the base of the throat, but there is a splash of original T'ang glaze covering the back of the neck, including the cracked area. The most minute examination of it proves that the head was thus placed on the body in the T'ang period and was not repaired by a modern restorer.

I have seen quite a few equestrian figures made in the same way; to male bodies, exactly like others with men's heads, female heads were added either in ignorance, fun, or a desire to include lady riders in a cavalcade when there were no female torsos ready for the buyer. Perhaps these oddities were sold at half-price by an embarrassed dealer, perhaps they were considered more desirable than "normal" statues, or perhaps they went unnoticed by the buyer, for it is only when one sees hundreds of them together, as in the extensive Toronto collection, that one can be sure that there were variations in joining heads, arms, and legs to the standard torsos. Since these additions were unglazed, or irregularly glazed, in eighth and ninth century work, this was quite possible. The heads of the fine figures from Shensi, referred to above,<sup>1)</sup> were painted with particular charm and delicacy; the decorator applied his pigment directly to the clay, using a soft pink for the cheeks, vermilion for the lips, and black for the eyebrows, lashes, moustaches and beards that were done with a very small brush. These are still in such good condition we can appreciate fully the original beauty of the pieces.

*Fakes.* — Imagination went into the creation of all of the "*ming-ch'i*" whether made by a master-designer or an apprentice. There is real originality in them, which accounts for their popularity in the

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<sup>1)</sup> Paine. Op. cit.



T'ang period and in modern times, and lifts them from the realm of hackwork and factory duplication to a high place in the minor arts of their epoch. They have been so popular, in fact, that the making of fakes has been a profitable business for some years. Let the buyer beware of the unglazed statuettes; a mould made from an authentic one, some clay from a good deposit in China, handled by the clever artisans of Japan or China, and behold: you are offered a T'ang figurine which may have been buried in the earth for a while, but not for a thousand years. It is not so easy to fake the glazed figurines, however. There is a small crackle, or crazing, which has taken place through the centuries, as well as other surface changes which have come because of their long interment, and these cannot be easily reproduced; one can usually detect a forgery by examining it through a strong lens, or scratching the clay under the foot or some inconspicuous place; if the white of plaster of Paris, or the pink of modern terra cotta shows through, you haven't an antique. The most favored types turned out by the modern makers are the dancing girls, musicians, and "pretty" little pieces; as a rule, if an attempt is made to imitate a foreigner, it is so clumsily done that the experienced eye can detect it quite readily. In recommending the R.O.M.A. collection to the student, one can point out that the entire group, case after case, room after room of them, were sent over from China years before the figurines had become so popular or valuable, and no recent accessions have been made; the unglazed are no doubt as authentic as the glazed.

Many times, in antique shops and decorators' galleries, one sees figurines that have been repaired, or made up of broken parts. The unglazed heads, all too often, have been carelessly handled, and the horses' legs have been set at odd angles, or the clay is of a different color; look well, and you can generally see it. It is a pity that most of the authentic relics have come on the market from unknown graves in unknown areas, and even the most obliging dealers are unable to say anything about the exact location, or the other objects found in the tomb which might help in dating them. There are two splendid groups, though, found with dated slabs (see p. 132).

*Decline in Production and Skill at the End of the T'ang Period.* — As Cheng Te-k'un points out,<sup>1)</sup> the peak of the art came in the T'ang

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<sup>1)</sup> Cheng Tê-k'un and Shên Wei-chun. *A Brief History of Chinese Mortuary Objects.* (*Chung-Kuo Ming-ch'i*). Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies. Monograph Series No. 1, Peiping, 1933. p. 72.



period and declined afterward; there are some attractive Ming dynasty pieces, but they are not as beguiling individually as the earlier ones. That may be accounted for by a change in burial customs, for toward the end of the T'ang and in the Sung Period, more attention was given to the adornment of the tomb itself.<sup>1)</sup> Wood and stone were used rather than clay, and the wood by this time may have disintegrated.

In the post-T'ang tomb of the ruler of the Kingdom of Shu, Wang Chien (847 to 918), discovered in 1939 in Ch'eng-tu when digging air-raid shelters for protection in World War II, no figurines have been mentioned as being among the various objects scattered about the central chamber.<sup>2)</sup> Pottery sherds, glazed T'ang and Sung wares, workmen's bowls, etc. were reported, but no statuettes of clay. Instead, there were sculptured stone figures of guards about two-thirds life size who supported the coffin, and panels carved in relief ornamented with musicians and dancers. These have been compared with the Buddhist sculpture of the same region in originality and freedom of design. The tomb, though it had been robbed, still contained valuable pieces of jade and metals; one can only conclude that royal tombs were too splendid for pottery "*ming-ch'i*," or that, in this tomb of a general who set himself up as king, all interest had been centered on the carving of the sarcophagus and other ornaments.

*Report by Hobson of Materials Used.*

The T'ang grave wares are usually of a white or pale buff material, varying from a soft plaster-like earthenware to a hard stone-ware or porcelain. Often they are unglazed, but coated with a white slip and decorated with painted patterns in unfired pigments — black, red, and occasionally blue. When glaze is used on the soft earthenware, it is a soft lead silicate. It is transparent, and of a slightly yellowish cast, and when positive colour was required, the colouring agent was applied in dabs or washed on the body of the ware and absorbed into the glaze which was subsequently laid over it. The colours used were pale green, leaf green, amber yellow, cobalt blue, and very rarely a violet or aubergine. All of the colours are found as monochromes as well as in mottled combinations or in separate washes. Some of the glazes used in the harder T'ang wares are

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Han-yi Feng. "Discovery and Excavation of the Yung Ling." Archives, II, Chinese Art Society of America, 1947, p. 11-20, reprinted from the Szechuan Museum Occasional Papers, no. 1, Ch'eng-tu, 1944; Cheng Tè-k'un. "The Royal Tomb of Wang Chien." In HJAS, March, 1945, vol. VIII, nos. 3 and 4, p. 235-240; and Sullivan, D. Michael. "A Western China Discovery of Immense Importance. The Excavation of a T'ang Imperial Tomb." In Illustrated London News, April 20, 1946, p. 429-431.



much more refractory, and evidently felspathic; their colours include white, a watery green or celadon type, true celadon, black, and chocolate brown. The last mentioned is sometimes splashed with a variegated glaze of blue and grey, the colours in which are probably accidental... An interesting group (Case D in the British Museum) were obtained by a railway engineer from a tomb disturbed by a railway cutting near Honan-fu. This funeral outfit includes six covered jars, probably intended for the six kinds of grain; a wine-vase of amphora shape with cup-shaped mouth and serpent handles; a circular tray on which stood a small melon-shaped pot surrounded by shallow cups; a series of figures, a lady on horseback, attendants male and female, priestly persons, a longnosed man of foreign appearance, and six mail-clad "life-guards"; a number of animals, horses, camels, pigs, sheep, a dog and a goose; two supernatural creatures (Earth Spirits) whose function was to guard the grave. The figures are of the usual white plaster-like material with pale straw-coloured glaze... Three figures... from a Szechuan tomb (in which was an inscribed slab saying that it was the tomb of "His Excellency Ts'ui" (died 839) differ considerably from the familiar types of T'ang pottery such as those found in the tomb of Liu T'ing-hsün (d. 728, a princely personage)... They have a soft red body and a transparent lead glaze of yellowish cast. By the use of slip and copper oxide several distinct colours have been produced on this surface: an orange red (glaze over the red body), a cream white (glaze over a wash of white slip), light leaf green (the same with a tinge of copper oxide in the glaze) and brown which might have been formed by the glaze with a tinge of copper-green over the red body, without any wash of white slip.<sup>1)</sup>

### *Graph of Clays Used.*

Graphs of Various Clays  
represented in the Toledo Exhibition of 1939 made  
after analyzing and testing some 250 pieces

For the T'ang dynasty were noted:

Gray clay, hard
"    "    medium
Reddish clay, hard
"    "    soft
Buff clay, hard
"    "    medium
"    "    soft
Whitish clay, hard
"    "    medium
"    "    soft. <sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Hobson, R. L. *Handbook of the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East-British Museum*. London, 1937, p. 12-16.

<sup>2)</sup> From: *Sculptural Forms in Terra Cotta from Chinese Tombs*. The Toledo Museum of Art. Toledo, Ohio, 1939. J. Arthur Maclean, Curator, Doroty Blair, Assistant Curator, p. 3.



*Techniques in Afghanistan and in Central Asia.* — Sculptors in the oasis cities of Central Asia seem to have borrowed their methods from the Haddā craftsmen, for the techniques as described by von Le Coq and Andrews agree perfectly with the Haddā system as given by Barthoux.<sup>1)</sup>

Andrews describes them thus:

On the northwest frontier of India, where the remains of Graeco-Buddhist stone carving lie scattered over a wide area, types and compositions were evolved which by the agency of missionary and pilgrim extended their influence over the whole of Central Asia and into China and India. Where stone was not so easily available or where the art of stone sculpture was not greatly developed we find that stucco was used as a substitute. It was not always an absence of stone, however, that caused the use of stucco, for we find it largely employed on relatively early buildings, at Taxila for instance, where stone is easily obtainable. Whatever the cause, it is evident that just as tracings for drawings, for paintings on banners and walls were carried about and reproduced, so in the case of sculpture the most obvious thing to do was to carry moulds taken from desirable originals for reproduction in stucco wherever required. To conform to local tastes modification was easily possible without necessarily altering the essential character of the originals. The art of the moulder and plasterer was one of the most highly developed crafts associated with Buddhist art in Chinese Turkestan. Shrines were enriched with gilded and painted stucco figures and ornament both inside and out . . . The materials used were clay, plaster of Paris, and certain carefully prepared pastes. In the case of large figures — lifesize or larger — a kind of rough core, or armature, was first made either of wood or bundles of straw. The outer skin of the figure was cast in fine clay, in sections, from "piece-moulds" and fitted together around the armature, rough clay being used to fill up between armature and skin. In the T'ang period the finely prepared clay of the surface layer or skin had mixed with it some kind of fine fiber or goat's hair and occasionally in such large proportion that it became quite pliable and capable of being bent and arranged after leaving the mould.

The earliest examples of stucco are from the Niya and Miran sites; they have little or no fiber mixed in the clay and therefore are very fragile. The type of face is Western with no trace of Chinese influence (which agrees with wall paintings of about the same period, c. third century A.D.). The heads from Rawāk, made in the same way, are probably later in date, and have a more or less Mongolian character.

For the large figures at Ming-oi (Qizil) separate elements were moulded and combined, even eyeballs were inserted separately:

manipulation of faces and hands while still moist from the mould shows extraordinary command of the art of stucco working and the full appreciation of its possibilities.

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<sup>1)</sup> Barthoux. *Les Fouilles de Hadda*. Vol. III, p. 7-8.



All of the stuccos were painted in some form of tempera. Generally there is a first coat of white and over this the other colours were laid. Various mediums seem to have been used. The Toyuk pieces show a more durable quality of paint than any other examples, and it appears to contain a waxy medium. This fact, and other evidence, suggest influence from Tibet where encaustic painting was practised at an early period.

A special application of the moulder's craft is found in the figures and animals made for use in connection with Chinese burial rites, such as are found in the graves of Astāna of about the seventh century A.D. The figures found within the graves are apparently those of servants and retainers typical of those who may have surrounded the deceased in life, including cavalry, men in full armor and carrying lances, mounted on chargers of lively coloring, and waiting-men and maids. Mythical beings representing Zodiacal signs, and demons perhaps for safeguarding the tomb and the spirit of the departed were also present... All of the models are made of a very close-grained and tenacious clay, unbaked and colored with some form of tempera paint. It is a tribute to the quality of the craftsmanship that they endured with little or no change during a period of time extending to more than 1,000 years. In the case of two figures (Ast. iii 4072-73) an especially close textured clay has been used for the head and bust and the surface has a hard quality similar to the Toyuk fragments. In all but a few instances the colours retain their original hue. An interesting exception is found in the case of a particular red which has turned black.<sup>1)</sup>

Von Le Coq gives his analysis as follows:

In the ruined town of Schortschuq, after opening a room which had evidently been a workshop we found in the debris thirty stucco moulds.<sup>2)</sup> When a mould broke, a new one was moulded by a mechanical process over the original type and fresh ones cast as before... the casts were made out of mud mixed with the hair of animals, fibres of plants, or chopped straw — sometimes, too, but less often in the western districts, stucco was used. Faces, hands, feet, and all other parts were cast separately in moulds.

The large statues were thus formed in many separate parts, the not very thick portions filled with the same material and with bundles of reeds and dried in the sun. Then the separate pieces were fixed together by rough little wooden pegs, or sometimes, too, only tied together with straw ropes; the hands, etc. were put on and the whole statue (they were always only in half-relief) was smoothed over at the back with a coating of loam and fastened to the temple wall with tamarisk pegs. After this the front was smoothed off, the joints filled in, and the whole gone over carefully with a wash of clay, covered with a thick layer of stucco, painted in water-colors and gilded with thick gold-leaf. The gold-leaf was cut in little square pieces, stuck on and picked out by black paint

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<sup>1)</sup> Andrews, F. H. *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein During His Exploration in Central Asia, Kansu, and Eastern Iran, in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi*. Delhi, 1935, p. 12-14.

<sup>2)</sup> Figures cast in Berlin from some of them are published in his *Neue Bildwerke*, I, pls. 5 and 6.



or beautiful transparent carmine . . . In order that the gold decoration might stand out in bold relief, on many specially valuable statues they first of all formed the ornaments in a very firm white paste (perhaps stucco), then the little squares of gold-leaf and its painting were applied to this; any rough corners of the gold were painted over, and the gold ornament, now in relief, was given a brilliant polish by a jade point or something similar. We found evidence of this technical process only in Ruin B in Khocho.<sup>1)</sup>

*Regulations Governing the Use of Mortuary Figures in T'ang Times.*<sup>2)</sup> — The legal standard for the use of mortuary figures from early T'ang times was:

Ranks starting from the 3rd and above were allowed	90	pieces
“ “ “ “ 5th “ “ “ “	70	“
“ “ “ “ 9th “ “ “ “	40	“

The height of the figures was to be one foot. The fineness of the carriages, the costumes of the orchestral members and guards and entourages all depended on the rank of the deceased; these were to be made of clay, or wood (not metal) and the size was limited to seven inches (p. 57).

The number was decreased by the imperial order of Hsüan-tsung in the twenty-ninth year of the K'ai yüan era (742), but the sizes were to remain the same:

3rd rank and above, decreased to	70	pieces
5th rank and above, decreased to	40	pieces
9th rank and above, decreased to	20	pieces
Commoners, omitted in the original regulation, now allowed	15	pieces (p. 55).

Regulation in the first sovereign year of Hsien-tsung, Yüan-ho era (806 to 820):

3rd rank and above, 90 pieces, including	4	divinities, 12	hour symbols
5th “ “ “ 60 “ “	4	divinities, 12	“ “
9th “ “ “ 40 “ “	4	divinities, 12	“ “
Commoners, 15 pieces			

The divinities were to be not much over 1 foot; the other figures not more than 7 inches (p. 56).

<sup>1)</sup> Le Coq, von. *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*. p. 80.

<sup>2)</sup> Based on information given in “*Chung Kuo Ming-ch'i*” (*A Brief History of Chinese Mortuary Objects*) by Cheng Tê-k'un and Shên Wei-Chun, Op. cit., pp. 55-73. We refer to page numbers in this text in our translation of each category given above.



The inclusion of the "4 Divinities" which are no doubt the guardians of the four directions, the Lokapāla of Buddhist India, suggest the increased importance of Indian ideas in image making in China, and the increased importance of Buddhism in native folk-practice (Note JGM). See Pl. XXXIX.

Regulation in Late T'ang, first sovereign year of Wu-tsung (841):

- 3rd rank and above, 100 pieces, material limited to wood, size of the 4 divinities limited to 1 foot, 5 inches, other figures limited to 1 foot
- 5th rank and above, 70 pieces, 4 divinities limited to 1 foot, 2 inches, other figures 8 inches
- 9th rank and above, 50 pieces, 4 divinities limited to 1 foot, other figures 7 inches
- Commoners, 25 pieces, all under 7 inches (p. 57).

The above was drawn up by a legislative official for the Emperor. As he bewailed the violations of former regulations, it seemed evident that the practice of the time was beyond official standard (p. 58).

In the eleventh year of the Hsien-t'ung era, reign of I-tsung (871) it was noted that there was great extravagance; large figures over one foot high were used, beautifully glazed. Changes were made; commoners were forbidden to use them. Pottery was prescribed for the figures, no wood or metal allowed, nor were real silk or satin for costumes permitted, nor the sacrifice of fowl (p. 55 and 56).

During the second year of Ch'ang-hsing (932 A.D.) the Emperor ordered:

Officials of the 5th and 6th rank should have 30 pieces; those of the 7th rank, 20. Officials in the Capital, and officials for examinations under the 6th rank should have 15 pieces (p. 73).

The authors state that two collections of T'ang figurines in the National University of Peking prove that the above regulations were not at all effective, for the measurements are well above the official standard.

1. From the tomb of Fêng T'ai:

- 2 Scholars ..... 38 inches (Western unit)
- 2 Warriors ..... 36 " " "
- 2 horses
- 2 camels

2. From the tomb of Tai Ling-yen

- 1 Scholar ..... 51 inches (Western unit)
- 1 Warrior ..... 52 " " "
- 1 groom
- 2 camels ..... 40 " " "

(p. 60)



There seems to be no standard of measurement used by these authors, for sometimes they are given as Western units, as above, and sometimes unspecified by them; in quoting directly from the old texts the reference may be to T'ang measurement. The T'ang footrules still preserved in the Shōsōin Collection are not uniform, either, but the majority are 29.6 cm. divided into 10 units instead of our English 12 inches, and are about 9 mm. shorter than the standard modern footrule of the United States.<sup>1)</sup>

Though one might be led to the conclusion that it was only in the late ninth century that the large and handsomely glazed figures were used, there is contradictory evidence in the two groups known to me that are associated with a dated burial tablet, those from the tomb of Chancellor Liu T'ing-hsün,<sup>2)</sup> A.D. 728,<sup>3)</sup> and those in the R.O.M.A. Toronto, from the tomb of General Yang, buried in A.D. 693.<sup>4)</sup> The figures average 30 inches and over, and are glazed with consummate skill.

Typical T'ang Retinue. — A typical tomb retinue is described in the C.T. Loo Catalogue of Sale:

A set of 10, including two Dignitaries holding tablets, two Warriors (Lokapāla), two camels, two horses, two Earth Spirits. Such a retinue was buried with a military chief, the two Dignitaries to help him in a civilian capacity, two military warriors to aid him in war, two horses to carry him on his journeys, two camels to carry necessary packs for his journeys, and two demons to attack any evil spirits that might appear.<sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> See: J. Harada. *Catalogue of the Imperial Treasures of the Shōsōin*. Op. cit. vol. I, p. 16.

<sup>2)</sup> His literary name was T'ing-hsün. He was General of the Chung-wu army, Lieutenant of Honan-Fu and Huai-yin Fu, Privy Councillor, etc. He died on the 16th day of the 8th month of the 16th year of the K'ai-yüan era, at the age of 72. He came of a family which for 20 generations during both Han dynasties supplied emperors, ministers, judges and barons. He was adept in military strategy, swordsmanship, and military administration. He led his men with great skill when the Khitan Tatars attacked the frontier, for "he cleared them away as a man brushes flies from his face." In spite of jealousy on the part of others, and threats to his life, he lived to be 72. (See Waley, A., in the article by Hobson, R., "T'ang Pottery Figures in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Burlington Magazine*, Jan. 1921, p. 20-25).

Hobson mentions also another dated group from the grave of the Princely personage named Wen Shou-ch'eng of Lo-yang, died 683; the figures, seen by him in Paris, were smaller but equally fine. They have not been published apparently.

<sup>3)</sup> Former Eumorfopoulos Collection, nos. 270-282 in the Hobson Catalogue, text, p. xx.

<sup>4)</sup> Information on tomb stone furnished by Miss Helen Fernald, Curator, in Feb. 1949.

<sup>5)</sup> *C. T. Loo Catalogue of Sale*, 1941-42. New York. Listed as no. 478.



(Figures of men, 21 in., demons, 18 in., horses, 14 in., and camels 16 in. It is noted that "Several larger sets are known, one found in Honan in 1906 during excavations for a railway, now in the British Museum)." When the camels and horses were attended by grooms the set included fourteen in all (See Plate XXXV).

In the Yamanaka Sales Catalogue,<sup>1)</sup> item no. 480, a sketch executed by Mr. S. Yamanaka while he was a member of an archaeological party that discovered an important T'ang tomb in China, indicates that a tomb chamber had been hollowed out of a hillside. Facing the entrance of the tomb, inside it were the Lokapāla, and behind them, forming a "spirit path" were the horses and camels; beside the sarcophagus stood civil and military officials. All of this recalls the later Ming tombs of Peking with similar figures carved in stone which marked the road to the tombs. Within the T'ang tomb were attendant ladies, some sixteen in number; there were musicians, dancers and equestriennes among them. There was, as well, an ox-cart (Fig. 14).

In the collections noted in this study, important tomb groups are to be seen in the University Museum, Philadelphia, the Chicago Art Institute, the Minneapolis Art Institute, and the Royal Ontario Museum.

#### Statistics on T'ang Figurines in Important Collections. —

Eumo	63	Figurines of Humans of which 22 are of Foreigners
MMA	17	" " " 22 " "
MFA	77	" " " 8 " "
MAI	34	" " " 6 " "
SAM	27	" " " 6 " "
CAI	50	" " " 11 " "
KCNG	17	" " " 7 " "
ROMA	353	" " " 72 " "

Loo Collection: over a three year period, it contained about 1,000, of which 10 % were Westerners.

Of the exhibition in Toledo, in the catalogue were listed:

115 Humans — 43 Foreigners

These statistics probably do not give an accurate idea of the number of foreigners made in proportion to the native types, for museums want objects of unusual interest rather than quantities of more commonplace pieces, and the foreigners are therefore considered more desirable.

<sup>1)</sup> *Yamanaka Collection of Chinese and other Far Eastern Art*. New York, 1943.







## APPENDIX I.

### TRAVELERS WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING NEW ART INFLUENCES INTO CHINA

Dharmarākṣa, of Yüeh-chih stock, was born in Tun-huang, travelled in Central Asia, and visited India. He then lived in the capital of China in the mid-third century A.D.<sup>1)</sup>

Śrīmitra. d. about 335 or 342.

Kumārajīva, in the fourth century, d. 413.

Shê-kung - from Central Asia, d. 380.

Notables from Kashmir and Oudh, near the Gandhāra and Haḍḍā region, who played a leading part in the transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China, included:

Saṅghabhūti, who reached China in 381.

Saṅghadeva, who arrived in Ch'ang-an in 384.

Puṇyatrāta (collaborator of Kumārajīva) and Dharmayaśas, who travelled through Central Asia and reached China c. 401.

Buddhayaśas, born in Kashmir and lived in Kuchā, was a close associate of Kumārajīva.

Vimalakṣa, who went from Kashmir to Kuchā and stayed in China 406-13.

Buddhajīva and Guṇavarman, who were in south China.

Dharmamitra, who went from Kashmir to Kuchā and Tun-huang.

Buddhabhadra.<sup>2)</sup>

In 399, Fa-hsien with Pao-yün left Ch'ang-an for the Ganges country; he went through Tun-huang, Qarashahr, Khotan and Gandhāra, arriving in 405 at Magadha. He stayed in India six years, and returned to China by way of Ceylon, reaching Ch'ang-an in 414.

Fo T'u-têng, c. 420.

Other eminent Chinese who made the journey to India in the fifth century included:

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<sup>1)</sup> Bagchi, P. C. *India and China, a Thousand Years of Sino-Indian Cultural Contact*. Calcutta, 1944, p. 35-6; and Bagchi, P. C. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, Paris, 1920. 2 vols. pl. XV and XXXI and p. 702.

<sup>2)</sup> Bagchi, P. C. *India and China*. p. 39-45.



Chih-meng and a party of fourteen who started in 404, went across Central Asia via Khotan to Kashmir and returned in 424. In 420, Fa-yung with twenty-five other monks, took the northern route. Tao-pu, Fa-shêng, Fa-wei, Tao-yo and Tao-t'ai are recorded as going in the same century.<sup>1)</sup>

"In the fifth century, Dharmakṣema (d. 433), was learned in dhāraṇī and showed his magic power by causing water to spring from a rock . . ." <sup>2)</sup> He came from Central India, travelled through Kashmir, Khotan and Kuchā.<sup>3)</sup>

*T'an-yao*, the Central Asian monk who suggested the building of the stone cave temples in Ta-t'ung (Yün-kang) translated the *Ta-chi-i shen-chou ching* in 462 with the collaboration of Indian monks. It describes the method of making an arena where Buddhist images were arranged in a circle to receive the offerings of the votaries. The arena seems to be a rudiment of the Maṇḍala, or altar, the construction of which is taught in later texts. The same sūtra also teaches all kinds of siddhis. There are siddhis to win a war, to stop a storm, to obtain rain, to conceal one's form, or to secure a wish jewel . . .<sup>4)</sup>

Of the sixth century travelers, Sung Yün and Hui-shêng were sent to India in 518 by the Empress Wu; they went by Khotan and Gandhāra (which was then occupied by the Hephthalites, in 520); they stayed two years in Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, and returned to China in 522 bringing back many sūtras and śāstras of the Mahāyānist school.

Vimokṣaśena went from India to China in the sixth century. Traditionally it was in this period that Bodhidharma, the Ch'an patriarch, arrived first in southern China, and then went north to Lo-yang, where he is supposed to have died in 535. After him came Prajñāruci, Paramārtha, Narendrayaśas (from Uḍḍiyāna in the Gandhāra region), and Jinagupta (528 to 605), who came from Peshawar (also in the Gandhāra area), and reached China via Khotan. He had to flee from China in the persecution of 574, and took refuge in Mongolia with the Khan of the Eastern Turks whom he converted. He was recalled to Lo-yang in 585 after the Sui came into power.<sup>5)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Bagchi, P. C. *India and China*, p. 72-3.

<sup>2)</sup> Chou Yi-liang. "Tantrism in China." In the *HJAS*, March, 1945, p. 243.

<sup>3)</sup> Bagchi, P. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 46-7.

<sup>4)</sup> Chou Yi-liang. *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>5)</sup> The above information (except for the references cited) is from: Grousset, *Histoire de l'Etrême Orient*. p. 256-263; and Bagchi. *Op. cit.*, p. 48-51.



Dharmagupta, who travelled in the north Punjab and Kapīśa for two years, then went overland to Kāsghār, Kuchā, Qarashahr, Turfān and Hami to Ch'ang-an, where he arrived in 590. He died in Lo-yang in 619. He was followed by Prabhākaramitra, who arrived in Ch'ang-an in 627, Atigupta, arrived in 652, Punyodaya in 655, Bodhiruci, who reached China by sea, and was in the Western Capital in 706, and Śubhākarasiṃha, a student from Nālandā who went overland, arriving in Ch'ang-an in 716 with many mss.<sup>1)</sup>

We are reminded that many renowned Indian teachers living outside of India, in Khotan, Java, and other places also went to China in the T'ang period to help in the stupendous task of translating and commenting on the sacred texts of Buddhism, which was an important part of the preservation and propagation of the faith.

In the seventh century, between 643 and 665, the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'ê fulfilled four missions to India (See p. 139 for further account).

Hsüan-tsang made his journey in 629 to 645, as we have noted so fully in the main text, and brought back images, and soon afterwards I-ching (645 to 713) made a similar pilgrimage; he studied the Tantric form of Buddhism at Nālandā, in India, and later translated the Ta-k'ung-ch'üeh-chou wang ching (Sanskrit: Mahāmayūrī vidyārājñī-sūtra), with its appendix on methods for making altars and painting images.<sup>2)</sup>

Hsüan-chao set out in 651; he had a long, hard journey, stayed eleven years in India, and returned to China via Nepal with an escort. On his arrival in Lo-yang, an imperial decree sent him again to India for a famous healer and drugs for the court. He scoured the Deccan for drugs, went north to Nālandā to rest, and thence to Magadha, where he fell ill and died. He had brought back drawings of Indian images, and a model of the Buddha image at Bodhgayā, which he deposited at the Imperial Palace.<sup>3)</sup> Chinese texts have preserved the biographies of sixty Chinese monks who went to India in the second half of the seventh century A.D.<sup>4)</sup>

Shan Wu-wei arrived in Ch'ang-an in A.D. 716, and was later allowed to translate the Tantric texts which he had brought with him, and became the first great master of the School in China. He had

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<sup>1)</sup> Bagchi. *Op. cit.*, p. 54-58; and Chou Yi-liang. *Op. cit.*

<sup>2)</sup> Chou Yi-liang. *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>3)</sup> Grousset, *Footsteps*. p. 256 et seq.; Bagchi. *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>4)</sup> Bagchi. *Op. cit.*, 83.



learned dhāraṇīs, yoga, and other Tantric secrets at Nālandā, and had miraculous experiences in India and Turkestan. He was welcomed to China by the Emperor Hsüan-tsung in the K'ai-yüan era (713 to 741); the emperor had dreamed of him, and regarded him as a Bodhisattva. He had to engage in a contest with an astrologer who could manipulate superhuman spirits, but he remained calm, and the astrologer was confused. It is he who brought rain by stirring water in a bowl.<sup>1)</sup> The story is related by Edwards as follows:

In the temple of the Wise and Good there lived an Indian priest from Gandhāra named Wu-wei, who agreed to break the drought. Stirring the water in a bowl with a small knife, he repeated his incantation many hundreds of times. Presently something in the likeness of a dragon appeared, about the size of a finger, and red... then, after more incantation, a white vapor arose from the bowl, filled the chapel, and a gale, rain and thunder hit the countryside.<sup>2)</sup>

Soon after him came Vajrabodhi and his disciple, Amoghavajra, who furthered the spread of Tantrism in China, especially at the court, though it did not seriously rival the popularity of the T'ien-t'ai sect brought in by the monk Chih-i (538 to 597) who had introduced the doctrine of the Lotus of the Good Law and founded a monastery near Hang-chou, and Amidism, the Pure Land Sect founded by Hui-yüan (334 to 416).<sup>3)</sup>

In c. 789 the pilgrin Wu-k'ung returned to China after nearly forty years in the Western countries and India. When travelling in 751 to Chi-pin (Kapīśa) he probably passed through Turfān on his way to An-hsi (Kuchā) and Su-lê (Kāshghar), but the "laconic record of his travels gives no details."<sup>4)</sup>

Artists from the Western Countries. — There were painters of Buddhist pictures, both priests and laymen, from India or various countries in Eastern Turkestan and other western regions, who must have exerted a strong influence on China from the Six Dynasties period on. Among them were Chia-fo-t'o and T'an-mo-cho-ch'a. Even in the sixth century A.D. in the Liang period, Chang Sêng-yu was noted for painting in the Indian manner; for the same period, five painters are listed as being skilled in religious art, and all were foreign bhikṣu

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<sup>1)</sup> Chou Yi-liang. *Op. cit.*, p. 246, and 257-68.

<sup>2)</sup> Edwards. *Chinese Prose Literature*, p. 93.

<sup>3)</sup> Grousset. *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. I, p. 262-4.

<sup>4)</sup> Stein. *Innermost Asia*, note on p. 580-1.



(ordained mendicant scholars), who were renowned enough to be noted officially — other less famous are not named.<sup>1)</sup>

Ch'ü-to t'i-p'o (probably Gupta-deva), was in China in the Wu-tê era, (618 to 626) and was spoken of as a Brahmin priest-painter.<sup>2)</sup>

The famous Yü-ch'ih Po-chih-na and his son, Yü-ch'ih I-sêng, naturalized Khotanese, excelled in Buddhist painting; the father had arrived in Ch'ang-an in 627, and the son was mentioned for his work in 652.<sup>3)</sup>

In 666, the reign of Kao-tsung, Fan Ch'ang-shou and other skillful artists were commanded by Imperial Order to paint forty chapters of illustrations for the *Hsi Yü Chi* (Records of the Western Countries). Hsüan-tsang had written twelve of the sixty chapters of the text of the book in A.D. 646.<sup>4)</sup>

From 643 to 665, the Chinese ambassador Wang Hsüan-ts'ê, had made four trips to India as we have noted, and each time had brought home images, sketches and other tangible results of these visits which made a great contribution to the culture of early T'ang civilization. He had taken the painter Sung Fa-chih with him, who had doubtless made copies of the famous Indian icons. Sung painted three chapters of illustrations for the text on Central India written by Wang, and must have had considerable influence on the group of painters who had been summoned to illustrate the *Hsi Yü Chi*.<sup>5)</sup>

There was a rival school of painters who followed Ts'ao Chung-ta of the N. Ch'i period. Ts'ao had come from Samarkand, and might therefore have painted in the Indo-Iranian style of Bāmiyān.

With these recorded voyages, most of them from the Gandhāra region to China, as well as the detailed accounts of the travelers, traders and emissaries given in the main text, one can find ample evidence for the introduction of Greco-Buddhist and Indian ideas and motifs which had an effect even on Chinese secular art. Haḍḍā images, with their greater freedom of expression, their interest in ethnic types and in individual traits could have been brought into China in this way.

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<sup>1)</sup> Naitō, T. *The Wall-paintings of Hōryūji*. Trans. Acker. W. and Rowland, B., Jr. Baltimore, 1943. p. 210, 214-5.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>4)</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid., p. 261, 212-13, who speaks of only three trips made by Wang; but see Lévi, S. "Wang Hsuan-ts'ō et Kaniṣka." *T'oung Pao*, Paris, 1912. p. 307-309; Pelliot, P. "Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao tō king." *T'oung Pao*, 1912. p. 351-378; Pelliot, P. "Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang." *T'oung Pao*, 1923. p. 274-282.



## APPENDIX II.

### GRECO-ROMAN BACKGROUND OF BUDDHIST ART, AND ITS INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT CENTRAL ASIA

The Gandhāra region of N-W India and the lands beyond the Punjab were referred to in the Achaemenid inscription of Darius at Bisutun (Behistun) c. 516 B.C., when they were part of the Achaemenid Empire. When that dynasty fell before the power of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C., the Macedonian marched to the Indus. There he had met a local leader, Maurya Chandragupta, who was to become the founder of the illustrious Maurya dynasty of India. Even while Alexander was in the Punjab there was disaffection with foreign rule, and the local population turned to Chandragupta to overthrow the government of Alexander's prefects.<sup>1)</sup>

Seleukos, successor to Alexander, was made satrap of Babylonia, and was nominal ruler of Gandhāra, but Chandragupta caused trouble for the Greek commander, and Seleukos made a treaty with him, giving him the Kābul Valley and neighboring lands in the late 4th century. The grandson of Chandragupta, Aśoka (d. 232 B.C.), sent missionaries to convert the populace to the Buddhist faith. A rock edict of this famous Buddhist emperor was set up at Shāhbazgarhī, 10 miles east of Mardan, giving positive proof of the proclamation of the Buddha's Law in Gandhāra.<sup>2)</sup>

In Bactria, the inheritors of Seleukos began to extend their power southward. Gandhāra and Kābul were taken by Demetrius in 190 B.C.; then, with rivalry among the Bactrian leaders, Eucratides dispossessed him. In spite of dissension in the ruling house the Greco-Bactrians continued to hold sway over Gandhāra, and Menander (Milinda of Indian history) went into the Ganges Valley, ruling as king of Kābul and N. India from c. 175-155 B.C. During the last century before the Chris-

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<sup>1)</sup> Majumdar, R. C., Raychaudhuri, H. C., and Datta, K. *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd ed. London, 1950, pp. 97-103.

<sup>2)</sup> Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India*. Penguin, Baltimore, 1953 pp. 75-77.



tian era the Greco-Bactrians maintained close relations with their Indian neighbors. Antialkidos, a "Yavana" (Greek) prince of Taxila, sent an ambassador to Besnagar to the court of the Śunga prince, Viśaṣa.

About 135 B.C. the Bactrian rulers were driven out of the northern part of their domain by a people called Śakas, in Indian history (Sakarauoi, Tokhari, and Indo-Scyth in Greek, Ss'u and Yüeh-chih in Chinese records). These Śakas united with the Parthians who had become increasingly strong with the dissolution of Seleucid power, and part of eastern Iran was ruled by the Śakas in the first century B.C. About 90 B.C. one of their leaders, Maues (Moga) conquered N-W India, confining the last Greek king to a small area in the Kābul Valley. Subsequently, Scytho-Parthian (Śaka-Pahlava) kings ruled over an empire composed of several provinces or satraps, with governors in Kāpiśa (Bégram), in Taxila, in Mathurā on the Jumna River, and in the upper Deccan, and at Ujjain in Mālwā.

Kinsmen of the Śakas, the Kushans, made an alliance against the Parthians with Hermaius, last Greek king of Kābul. Gondophernes, the Parthian, was vanquished, and with the death of Hermaius, the Kushans became the dominant group. About A.D. 64 Kujula Kadphises assumed the royal title, and sat in residence at Kāpiśa. The city of Sirkap was sacked by the Kushans after having been held by the Parthians from 100 B.C. to c. A.D. 60-65.

That period of Parthian dominance in Sirkap coincides with Roman expansion to the Iranian frontier, and the consolidation of the Roman empire under Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 19). The art of Sirkap under the Parthians shows marked Roman influence. Trade was active with the Roman world, and Ambassadors from "India" presented their credentials to the Roman Emperor, Trajan (A.D. 98-117). These envoys probably came from the Kushan court.

The Kushan realm included lands on both sides of the Hindu Kush, Kashmir, all of Bactria, Khorezmia, and Sogdiana by the time Kujula's grandson, Kaniška, came out of Khotan to rule from Peshawar in c. A.D. 144.<sup>1)</sup> Like Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty, he was an ardent Buddhist, and the monuments associated with him are still to be seen in ruined form, while their appearance as of c. A.D. 400 may be noted in the record of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien.

Kaniška and his successors were active patrons of the arts until the Sassanians came from Iran, led by Shapur I in A.D. 241, who

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<sup>1)</sup> Ghirshman, R. "Les Fouilles de Bégram, Afghanistan." *Journal Asiatique*, 1943-5, pp. 59-71.



eclipsed Kushan rule in Gandhāra. The White Huns of the fifth century wantonly destroyed most of the Buddhist monuments, but in the ruins of Kāpīśa and Haḍḍā, modern archaeologists have discovered enough to assure us of the cosmopolitan character of the culture and art of earlier times. This cosmopolitan quality, a mixture of Roman, Indian, Syrian and other forms, reached China by way of the southern trade route (III-IV centuries A.D.) and the northern (V-VIII), as the remains of oasis cities testify.

Five centuries after the Kushans had put an end to the Greco-Bactrian rule, a new movement had started from the basin of the Oxus and Iaxartes, the tribes of the Kidarites or Little Kushans, and that of the Chionites-Hephthalites. The Chionites became the dominant group in Tocharistan for two centuries. Though they formerly were considered to be of Turco-Mongol origin, the finding of Hephthalite coins in Afghanistan revealed that they were part of the great family of Iranian people, that they called themselves Chionites, and that the Hephthalites (Hua) who invaded Sogdiana and Bactria in the first half of the fifth century A.D. represent only one branch of a related group. Though they were called White Huns by Indian historians, they are not to be confused with their enemies, the Hsiung-nu, who also are called Huns.<sup>1)</sup> The Zabul tribe of Chionites moved into the Ghazni area of Afghanistan (ancient Arachosia), which then became known as Zabulistan (Ts'ao). As they gained strength they expanded in two directions, against their former sovereigns in Sassanian Persia, and against India. Under their chieftain Mihiragula (c. 515-544) most of the Gupta principalities were conquered; because he was an ardent devotee of Mihara (Mithras) whose cult as Sun God was the official religion, Mihiragula destroyed the Buddhist shrines that lay in his path.<sup>2)</sup> Subsequently the Western Turks and Sassanians joined forces to break the power of the Hephthalites, and the Turks eventually dominated the region.

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<sup>1)</sup> Ghirshman. *Chionites*, pp. XI-XIII. Samolin, W. "Hsiung-nu, Hun, Turk", *Central Asiatic Journal* III 2, 1957, pp. 143-150, and "A Note on Kidara", *CAJ* II/4 1956, pp. 295-297.

<sup>2)</sup> Ghirshman, *ibid.*, pp. 104-109.



### APPENDIX III.

#### THE TOCHARIANS

The people using Tocharian dialects A and B are still being investigated by scholars. Drs. Heine-Geldern and Samolin suggest that there was an ethnic sub-stratum in the vast region from South Russia to the northwestern borderlands of China, a pre-Iranian layer that may be designated as Kimmerian-Tokharian, to which the Issedones (Wusun) belonged.<sup>1)</sup>

When migrations of ancestors of the Yüeh-chih – Kushans swept eastward from Iran, the various local folk must have intermingled with them. As the tide turned and flowed in the opposite direction, pressed by the Hsiung-nu, a new home was found near the Caspian Sea, and then in the Punjab (see Appendix II). A residue of the old pre-Iranian stock remained in the northern trade route areas where documents relating to dialects A and B have been found.

Sylvain Lévi, in reference to the dialects A and B associated with the Tocharians, says that

it is an established fact that dialect B is the literary language, official and religious, of the little principality of Kuchā in Chinese Turkestan.<sup>2)</sup>

Sieg and Siegling, the German scholars, would like to extend it for the whole territory from Kuchā to Turfān because of the murals, manuscripts and inscriptions which extend that far, but Lévi prefers to call Karashahrian the fragments in dialect A coming from Qarashahr, Turfān, Bāzāklik, Murtuq, and Sangim. He notes that of the MSS from Qarashahr and Turfān, those in dialect A have glossaries in dialect B, though fragments in dialect B have no such characters.

The remains in dialect B manuscripts and mural inscriptions have been found in all the country between Kuchā and Turfān, whereas . . . in documents com-

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<sup>1)</sup> Samolin, W. "Historical Ethnography of the Tarim Basin before the Turks", *Paleologia*, IV, Osaka, 1955, pp. 33-40; Samolin, W. "Some Notes on the Avar Problem," *Central Asiatic Journal*, III/I, 1957, p. 65.

<sup>2)</sup> Lévi, Sylvain. "Le Tocharien." In the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. CCXXII, Jan.-March, 1933, p. 1-30.



ing from Kuchā, I have never seen one written in dialect A... Evidently, pressed between two powerful neighbors, Huns and Turks on the north, Chinese on the east, they were unable to completely develop an integrated civilization. The wonder is that under such conditions they were nevertheless able to acquit themselves honorably in the cultural development of Central Asia.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Ibid.



## APPENDIX IV.

### THE UIGHURS

They are a branch of the Turkic family. The earliest kingdom bearing the name of Turks was formed c. A.D. 556, and soon separated into two almost independent federations, the Eastern Turks having their headquarters on the Orkhon (present day Northern Mongolia), and the Western Turks being established between the Irtish (east) and Talas (west) rivers. The Eastern Turks were subjugated more often than the Western group by the Chinese.

The Western Turks divided into ten tribes of two groups c. 630, the Tu-lu (Tö-lö) and Nu-shih-pi; they became the allies first of the Sassanians, with whom they defeated the Hephthalites, and later of the Byzantines. Towards 689 Turkish unity was temporarily restored under the leadership of the Eastern Turks. In 741 the power of the latter was destroyed by a coalition of three tribes, of whom the Uighurs took the leadership on the Orkhon. They remained powerful until they were expelled by the Qirghiz in 840; they then dispersed to two different territories, some settling in Kansu, others in Turfan and Tun-huang.<sup>1)</sup> They had, therefore, lived in Mongolia, western China, and the oasis settlement on the northern trade route.

In the Chinese annals they were designated as Hui-ho in the seventh century. Their first khan had established his residence on the Selenga River (So-ling), a southern affluent of Lake Baikal; his successor moved to the Tu-la (Tola) river, affluent of the Orkhon which discharges into the Selenga. The third khan crossed the Ala-shan mountains and reached the Yellow River; in 630 he sent an envoy to the emperor of China to acknowledge Chinese supremacy. The Hui-ho kingdom, with the frontier tribes of the Tu-lu, were considered a vassal state, and the rulers over these territories were considered Chinese governors. The Hui-ho tribe had the governorship of Han-hai.

The Hui-ho were at first on good terms with the Chinese, but subsequently, as they grew stronger, they often disturbed the Chinese frontier by their incursions.

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<sup>1)</sup> Wittfogel, K., and Fêng Chia-shêng. *The History of Chinese Society*. The Liao, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 103.



Some twenty khans are mentioned in T'ang history, with details of events in their reigns, especially of their wars with the T'u-chüeh (Western Turks). One of them was converted to Manichaeism on a visit to Lo-yang in 763.

The khan Mo-yen-do had come to the throne in 756. He assisted the Chinese emperor in putting down the rebellion of An Lu-shan, and was rewarded by being given a Chinese princess in marriage, the Princess Ning-ho, daughter of the emperor. She went out to the court of the Hui-ho accompanied by a Chinese envoy, but returned in 759, for the khan had died a year after their marriage.

His successor was likewise married to a Chinese princess; at her death in 768 he married another Chinese princess, who survived him. She then lived many years apart from the court of the Hui-ho, but died in that country in 790.

The next khan ruled from 779 to 789. A year before his death he was married to a Chinese princess, Hsien-an, who lived for twenty-one years at the court, being the wife of four khans successively. She died in 808.

It was in 788 that the Hui-ho petitioned the Chinese emperor to allow them to change their name to Hui-hu (hu, falcon, being better suited to their warlike character); their request was granted.

Some years later they assisted the Chinese in their war against the T'u-fan (Tibetans) by expelling them from Pei-t'ing, "northern court," seat of the Chinese governor in Uighur country, near present Urumchi. They sent the prisoners of war to the emperor of China.

In 822 the Princess T'ai-ho, daughter of the Emperor Hsien-tsung, was given in marriage to the ruling khan. A Chinese envoy accompanied her to the khan's residence. She kept her own court and was assisted by two ministers. She survived the period of trouble after 840 and returned to China in 843. The emperor had sent 500,000 pieces of silk annually to the khan before the khan was slain by the Qirghiz in 840. The great dispersal took place in the mid-ninth century, as we have noted, and the group settling in Turfān became inheritors of the culture of the Tocharians, Sogdians and Chinese who had lived there before them.

(See: Bretschneider, E. *Medieval Researches*. London, 1888. Vol. I, p. 236-63; and Minorsky, V. "Tamīm Ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uyghurs." In BSOS, 1948, p. 275-305. For the post-T'ang history, see: Vernadsky, G. "Notes on the History of the Uighurs in the Late Middle Ages. In JAOS, 1936, December, p. 453-461).



## APPENDIX V.

### THE HU-HSÜAN DANCERS <sup>1)</sup>

The Hu-hsüan dance must have come from the west. The notices in the T'ang History indicate that from the beginning of the K'ai-yüan era (probably in 718), K'ang sent tribute including dancing girls; again they were sent in 727; in 729 they were sent from Mi; in 727, dancing girls and grapes were sent from Shih, and later in the same year more dancing girls and a panther were sent by the king to the Emperor of China. From Chü-mi, the dancing girls had gone to China in 719. The dancers are all described by the same words, so they must have performed the same dance which was native to Samarkand, Maïmargh, Khumdeh, or from Sogdiana and its environs.

Examining the word *Hu* (ch. 1) in the T'ang period – it had a very broad meaning, designating at one time the Barbarians of the north, all the people established to the west, as in Kuchā, Khotan, and even some of the Tibetan races; it applied also to the civilized people west of the Ts'ung-ling (Pamir), to the Persians and Arabs. Even Hindus were called *Hu*. As applied to the dance, it indicates a "dance composed of gyrations, the speciality of Sogdiana."

The Dancers must have been unusually skilful to deserve mention in the Annals; those sent to the emperor occupied a "college" in the T'ai-ch'ang-ssü, but they must have been known outside of court circles.

I think that there were other dancers brought from far away from their native lands who were part of the group in the spectacles given at the Ts'u-an-ssü, the Ch'ing-lung-ssü, and all the Buddhist temples where the shows were already notorious in this epoch, and the beautiful *Hu* dance delighted the citizens. <sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Ishida, M. *Études sino-iranniennes I, À Propos du Hu Hsüan-wu*; in the Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunko Research Department, no. 6, Tokyo, 1932, p. 61-76.

<sup>2)</sup> Kuwabara speaks of temple spectacles, "kermesse," in his *Voyage of Kōbō Daishi in China under the T'ang*. A footnote also tells us that a Chinese Imperial Princess was reprimanded by Hsüan-tsung (847-59) for going to the festival instead of visiting a sick relative. p. 65-6.



The dance is generally spoken of in the texts as being executed by women. But in the biography of An Lu-shan, it is stated that he danced the Hu-hsüan-wu in the presence of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung. He was a sinicized "Hu," brought up on the northeast frontier, in the region where the Hu from the west had come to live in great numbers and where the influence of Iranian civilization was very strong.<sup>1)</sup> He could have been an expert in the dance, and it is possible that other men of Hu origin knew it, so it was probably not reserved exclusively for women.

As to the nature of the dance: it consisted of gyrations to the left, or to the right, gyrations "swift as the wind," as described in a passage on the *Divertissements of Samarkand* (Old T'ang History), though it was not confined to that country.

Po Chü-i sang of it:

Hu-hsüan girls: Hu-hsüan girls!  
Your hearts respond to strings, your hands to drums.  
When strings and drums sound, your hands are raised;  
You turn, whirl and dance like falling snow —  
Turn to the left, pivot to the right, without knowing fatigue.  
Make a thousand turns, 10,000 revolutions without stopping.  
Nothing in the world is comparable to you.  
The wheels of a moving cart, the eddying of the wind are even slower.

Yüan Chên acclaimed it in the following way:

... The world does not know the meaning of the Hu-hsüan dance;  
I can describe its appearance:  
The armisia leaf which flutters, detached from its branch  
By hoar-frost as the howling wind whirls it past;  
The red disc one makes to spin at the end of a rod;  
The pin-wheel in fire-works;  
Rare pearls in earring pendants which are in motion;  
The star which the dragon pursues:  
A light scarf curving like a vaporous rainbow;  
Lightning flashing;  
Spray of the sea blown in secret by a hidden whale;  
Snow which a whirlwind sweeps, dancing in the sky.  
More than 10,000 turns. Who knows when the dancer has finished or when she starts?  
The assistants, seated in a square, can hardly tell her back from her front she turns so fast.<sup>2)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> See: Kuwabara, *Mélanges Naitō*, p. 60-2.

<sup>2)</sup> Translation from Ishida by the author.



The costume may have been "a padded robe of purple"; sleeves of brocade; green trousers with "fond" closed, or a sort of trouser without "fonds" (cuffs, presumably), in white; shoes of red leather. In the section on music, *Divertissements* from the K'ang country, of the Old T'ang History, there are references to "collar and sleeves of brocade" and "trousers with 'fonds'" — these were of performers attached to the palace, and there is no way of knowing whether dancers appearing before the people dressed in the same manner.

Other T'ang poets describe similar Western dances, and all refer to the rapidity of them, the quick feet of the performers, the body, like a crescent, "Reeling toward the east, tottering toward the west, like one drunk."

All of this calls to mind the violent handsprings and gyrations of Russian peasant dance, and the whirling ritual ceremonies performed by Tibetans. The source of both is probably to be found in Central Asia, whence it spread in many directions.

All of the descriptions in T'ang poetry resemble the whirling and spinning of the dance as we see it today.

For male dancers wearing tunics and boots, ready to do such a dance, and looking very Russian, though the sculpture is pre-T'ang, see: Yetts, P. *Chinese and Korean Bronzes in the Eumorfopoulos Collection* London, vol. III, pl. XXVII, no. c. 40.

A recent publication, the Chinese magazine "K'ao Ku T'ung Hsing" no. 1, 1958, gives photographs of tomb figurines of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, including a dancing man, and four Central Asian musicians seated on a camel.



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## CHINESE CHARACTERS

- ch. 1 Hu, 胡  
ch. 2 Ming ch'i, 明器  
ch. 3 Wei Mao, 帷帽  
ch. 4 Mu Li, 冪羅  
ch. 5 Chien p'i, 肩輹  
ch. 6 Tui chi, 堆髻  
ch. 7 Hang, 行



COLLECTIONS VISITED THAT WERE HELPFUL  
IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS STUDY

Allahabad University Museum  
Athens, Benaki Museum, Eumorfopoulos Collection  
Delhi, Museum of Central Asian Antiquities  
Hōryū-ji, Nara, Figurines in Pagoda  
Leningrad, Hermitage Museum: Sassanian Art  
Stockholm, Collection of H. M. Gustav Adolf VI; and Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities  
Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde: Central Asian Art  
Paris, Musée Guimet, Musée Cernuschi, the Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale: Exhibition of Persian Art, 1938  
Kābul Museum, Afghanistan  
Peshawar Museum  
Karachi, Pakistan National Museum  
Lahore Museum  
Taxila Museum  
London, British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum  
Teheran, Iran Bastan Museum  
Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum

In the United States

Baltimore, Walters Collection  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, and the Fogg Museum in Cambridge  
Buffalo, Museum of Arts and Sciences  
Chicago, Art Institute and Field Museum  
Cleveland, Art Museum  
Detroit, Institute of Arts, and Cranbrook Academy  
Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art  
Minneapolis, Art Institute  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
    ex-Collection of Mrs. Wm. H. Moore (now Yale University, New Haven)  
    Collection of Myron Falk, Jr.  
Galleries of:  
    C. T. Loo  
    Oriental Fine Arts Co. \*)  
    Ralph Chait  
    Alice Boney

---

\*) No longer in business in New York.



Ellis Monroe \*)

Warren Cox Associates

Mathias Komor

Kelekian \*)

Heeramanek

Tonying

Edward Wells \*)

Yamanaka, before the sale by the Alien Property Custodian  
Philadelphia, Art Museum and Museum of the University of Pennsylvania  
Seattle, Seattle Art Museum  
Toledo Museum of Art  
Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

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\*) No longer in business in New York.



## CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF FIGURINES CONSIDERED IN THIS STUDY

- I. Arabs: pp. 11-13; 33; 72; 98-105. Figurine of an Arab, Toledo Catalogue pl. 14. 55.
- II. Armenoid: p. 11. Plate III, *a, b, c, d, e*. Costume of Persian type. All are winesellers. A wine merchant of different racial type, resembling the Khorezmians in this study, is published by Hobson, *Eumo. cat. no. 171*; another variation in Hetherington, *Early Ceramic Wares*, pl. 6, fig. 2.<sup>11</sup>
- III. Eastern or Northern Iranians:
  - A. Khorezmians: pp. 72; 74.
    1. Plates X, XIX, XX *a*, XXI, XXII.  
Figures similar to XX *a* in *Eumo.*, 297-8.  
Oxcart similar to XXI in MFA Hoyt coll.
    2. Men resembling those of XXII *a* in the Warren Cox coll. but unmounted.
  - B. Kashgharians: p. 58.
    1. Plate XVII. Similar figure in ROMA, no. 2934, could be from the same mould. See also, Hetherington's *Early Ceramic Wares*, pl. 6, fig. 3; and Hentze 74 B from the Cernuschi, Paris.
    2. Plate XVII *b*.
- IV. K'un-lun or Javanese: pp. 85-88.
  1. Dancer or drummer, pls. XXIV-XXV; similar figures in MMA and Myron Falk collections, New York; in *Eumo.* 197, Hentze 73.
- V. Khotanese: pp. 83; 92-98; 100; 111.
  1. Plates XI *a* (similar figures in Yamanaka catalogue no. 481 and 559).
  2. Pl. XXVII, of a type represented by three others in the MMA, and Hentze 67 B.
  3. Pl. XVIII *a*.
  4. Pl. XXIX.
- VI. Persians: pp. 12-22; 24; 32; 35-36; 39; 41-44; 52-54; 59; 69-70; 72; 79; Appendix V. Pl. IV. There are few figurines of Persians known to me; this may be the result of the waning of Sassanian power in the seventh century. For a horse with Sassanian trappings, see Pl. XVIII *a*. A young Persian astride a camel is illustrated in *Eumo.*, 304, and *West-East*, pl. 2, no. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Hetherington, A. L. *The Early Ceramic Wares of China*. London, 1922.



- VII. Semites: see text p. 10. Pls. II *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*; V *b*. (Pls. II *a* is published in the Toledo catalogue on pl. 12 no. 15, and in the Art News, March 1946, p. 42). Tunics of II *c* and *d* are in the Persian style; *d* carries a Persian jug. For similar body see Eumo. no. 196, (though a different head had been attached); and Hamada no. 57. Pl. V *b* wears high boots of Near Eastern type: see text p. 17.
- VIII. Tocharians and Sogdian: pp. 25-26; 32-33; 40-41; 49-58; 68; 70; 77; Appendix III and Appendix V.
- A. See Plate XII.
- a. published in Toledo Catalogue, pl. 15, no. 14. Figure similar to *b*, in Hentze, 67 A; similar to *d*, in Hobson, *Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery*, Pl. III, 26, and in Eumo. no. 224. Several are in the ROMA.
- e. Tocharian of the Northern Trade Route. Published in Toledo Catalogue, pl. 15, no. 47.
- B. Pl. XIII, and similar figures in Toledo Catalogue; pl. 8 no. 154-162 from the PUM; pl. 9 no. 229-30 from MAI. Same type in T. Y. Chen coll., San Francisco; one, no. 502 in Yamanaka Catalogue, and others in Kümmel no. 354-59, and Hamada no. 27-30.
- C. Pl. XV, *a* and *b*, are two of a set of twenty-five once in the Loo Collection, four of whom are musicians, two playing on guitars and two on cup-cymbals. *c*, was one of several in the Oriental Fine Arts Collection. A similar figure is in the Toledo Catalogue pl. 8, no. 124, is one of a set of three in the MAI. In the ROMA no. NA3269 and 986 are of this type.
- D. Sogdian, see Plate XII *c*.
- IX. Turks and their Vassals: pp. 9; 22; 25; 34; 59-67; Appendix IV.
- A. A Western Turk, see Plate XVIII *a*, and Toledo Catalogue nos. 19, 79, 83. It has been impossible to offer accurate identification of members of all of the Eastern and Western Turkish confederations, for there are no known images of them of the T'ang period. We have noted that they and their vassals came in great numbers with the tribute horses, therefore we offer this general classification of grooms with Altaic characteristics and the men whose long braids were worn crossed behind the head from ear to ear.
- B. Vassals.
1. Pl. XVIII *b*, of a man with braided hair, dressed in Eastern Iranian tunic and boots, from ROMA. In the same tomb set there is another such groom, almost identical except that the head is set at a different angle. Pl. XXXIV *b*, see also Eumo. 280-283, and Hentze 75-76; Toledo catalogue no. 56, *a*, *b*, *d*, and 80.
2. Frontispiece, and XXXV, grooms with beards; see Yamanaka Catalogue no. 457 and 588.
- C. Uighur Turks: pp. 22; 25; 34-42; 44-46; 100-101; 116; Appendix IV.
1. Pl. VI, similar figure in Kümmel no. 324, 328, 331-2 (heads are different).



2. Pl. IX, of which there are similar figures in the Loo Collection and Eumo., no. 222.
3. Pl. X, see also Toledo Catalogue no. 67-71.
4. Pl. XI *b*.
5. Pl. XXVIII *b*; see Hentze 71.

X. Figurines showing marked Greco-Roman influence:

1. Pl. V *a*, curly hair.
2. Pl. VI, smile showing teeth.
3. Pl. XII *a*, realistic modelling and dimples.
4. Pl. XVII *a*, furrowed brow and pupils of eye marked.
5. Pl. XXIII *a, b, c, d*, curly hair.
6. Pl. XXIV *a* and *b*, curly hair; Europeanoid face.
7. Pl. XXIX, curly hair and smiling face.
8. Pl. XXXVII *a* and *b*, frown; *c* and *d*, modelling of faces, smile, dimples, etc.



## CLASSIFICATION BY OCCUPATION

### Attendants

Pl. XII *a, b, c*.

### Courtiers, Ladies and Dowagers

Pls. I; VII *a*; VIII; XVI; XXXI; XLI.

### Dancers, Musicians, and Entertainers

Pls. VII *a, b, c*; X; XIII; XIV; XXIV *c, d*; XV *a, b, c*.

### Dignitaries

Pls. IX; XI; XX *b*; XXVII; XXVIII; XXXV.

### Equestrians

Pls. XV *a, b, c*; XXII *a*; XXX; XXXIII *b*.

### Falconers

Pl. VI *a, b*.

### Grooms and Hostlers, Caravaniers

Pls. V *a, b*; VI *c*; XII *c*; XVIII *a, b*; XIX; XX *a*; XXIII; XXIV *a, b*; XXXIV *b*;

Frontispiece.

### Merchants

Pls. II *a, b, c, d*; III *a, b, c, d, e*; XVII *a, b*; XXI *a, b*.

### Soldiers

Pls. XII *c*; XXXIII; XXXVI; XXXVII; XXXVIII *a, b, c, d*; XL.







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Fig. 1. — Late Chou.

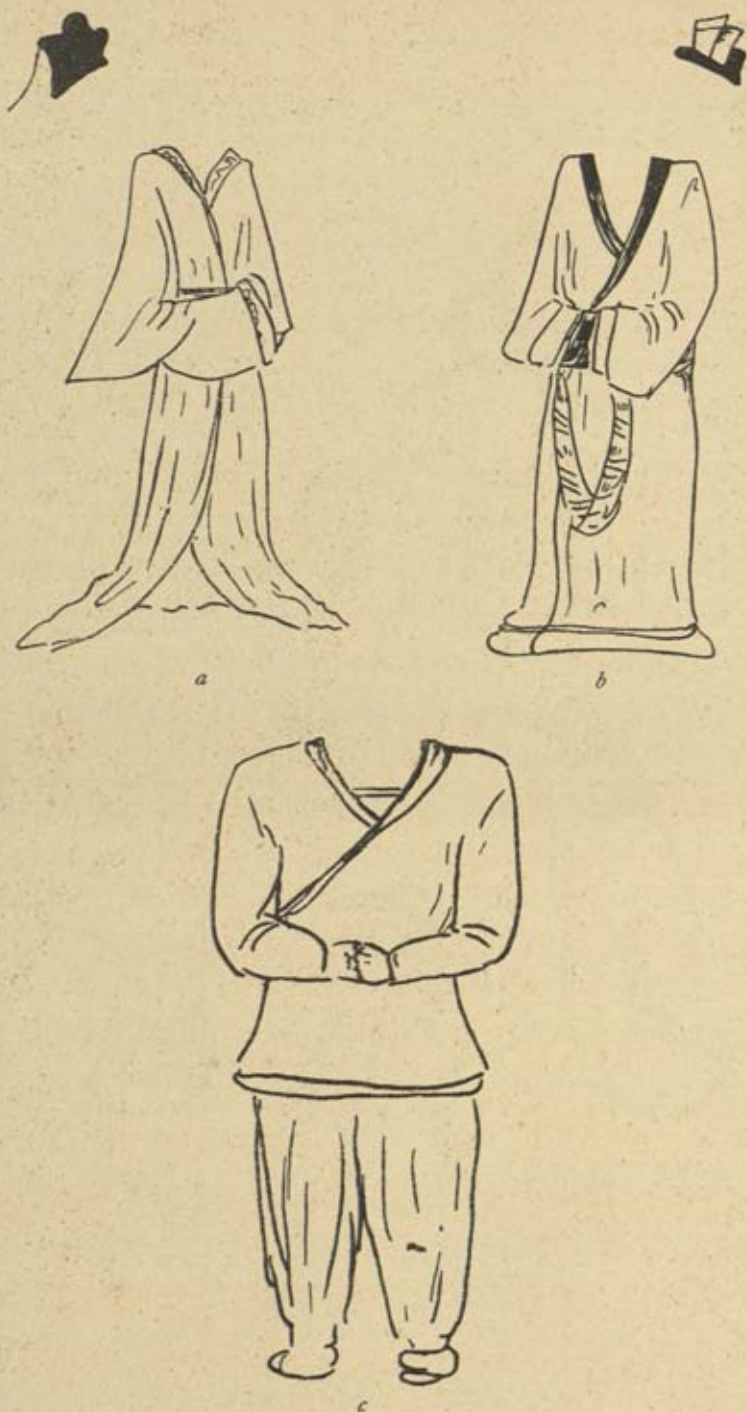


Fig. 2. — Han Period: *a*. Lady; *b*. Gentleman; *c*. Servant.





Fig. 3. - Six Dynasties Period: *a.* T'o-pa Wei Lady Donor; *b.* T'o-pa Wei Male Donor; *c.* Chinese Lady; *d.* Chinese Gentleman.



Fig. 4. - Sixth and Seventh Century dress: *a*. Groom or Servant; *b*. Soldier; *c*. 7th Century Donor; *d*. Late 6th and early 7th Century Lady Musician.





Fig. 5. — Coats and mantles of the same Eras: *a*. Coat with high collar of Persian fashion; *b*. Turfān cloak; *c*. Long mantle, probably the *mu li*.



Fig. 6. - Early T'ang Courtier's robes compared with Kuchā-Qizil male dress:  
*a*. Dignitary of early T'ang; *b*. Courtier, Qizil; *c*. T'ang Courtier; *d*. Courtier  
 from Qizil.



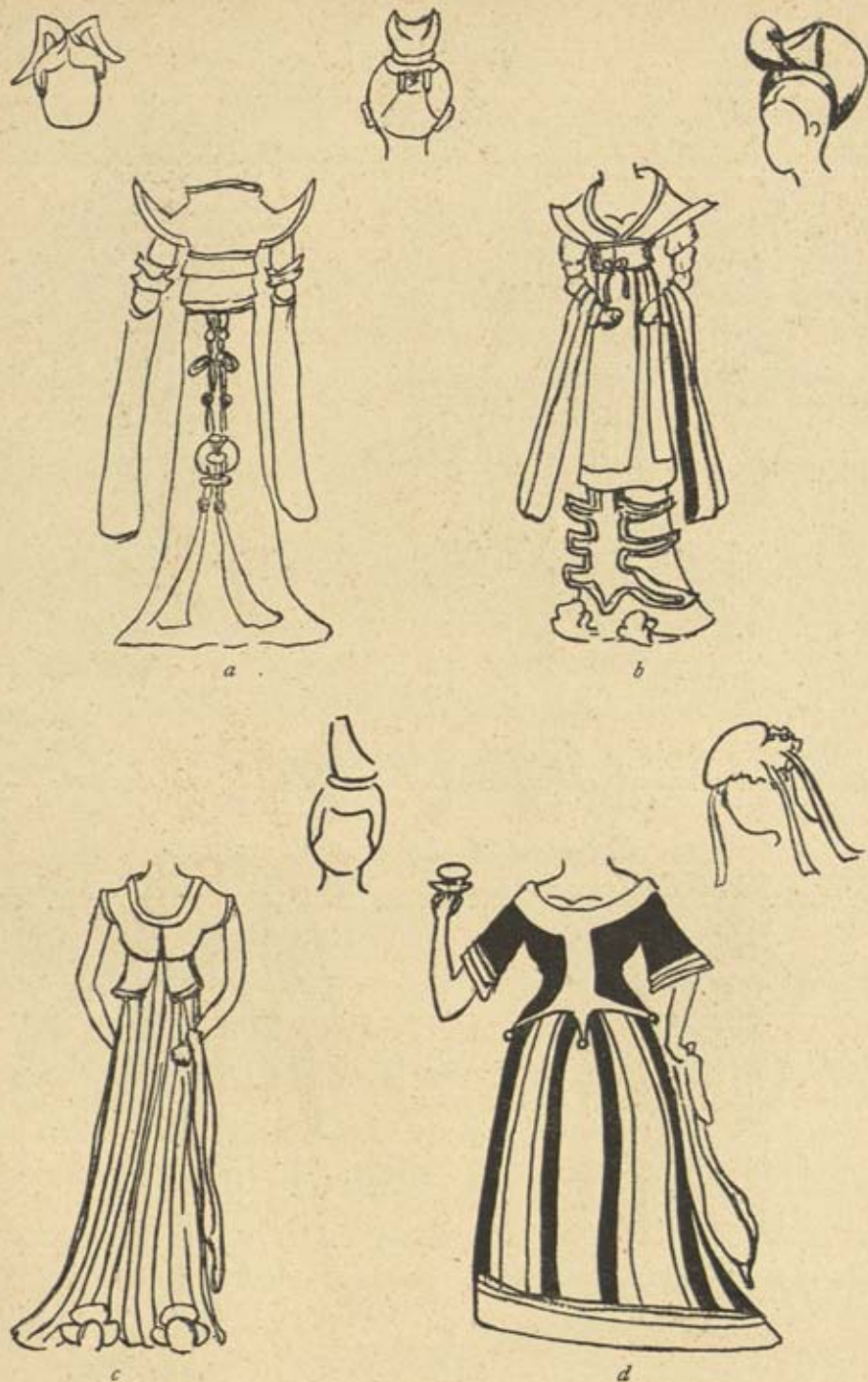


Fig. 7. — Early T'ang Ladies compared to Kuchā-Qizil Courtier: *a.* Chinese court robe, back view; *b.* Chinese court robe, front; *c.* Early T'ang Lady; *d.* Court Lady from Qizil.

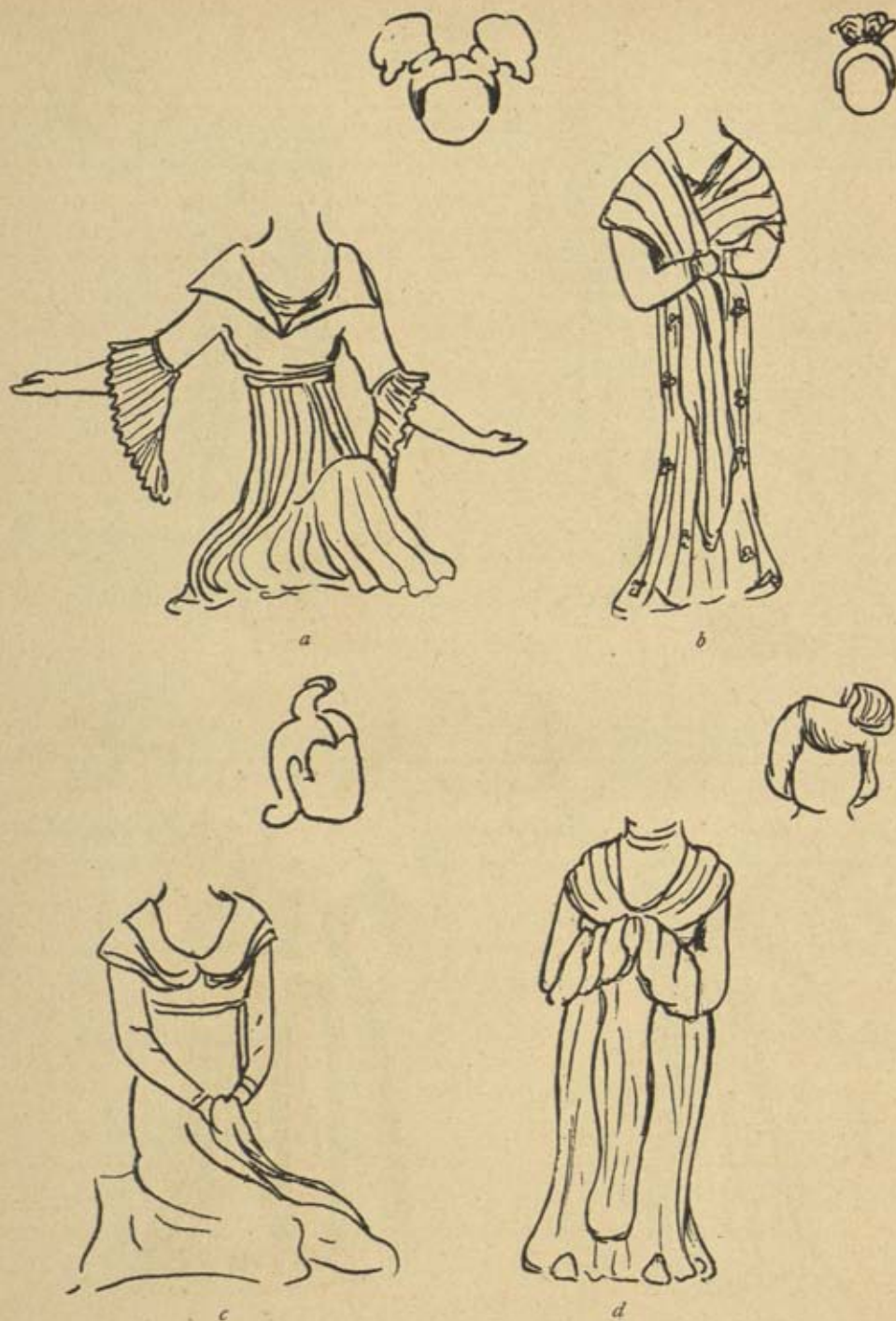


Fig. 8. - T'ang female dress: *a.* Dancer; *b.* 8th Century style for the slender; *c.* Donatrice, 8th Century; *d.* 8th Century dress for the plump and matronly.





Fig. 9. — T'ang male dress: *a*. 8th Century Male Donor; *b*. 8th Century Groom; *c*. Groom wearing high boots; *d*. Donor costume of 9th and 10th Centuries.



Fig. 10. - Eighth Century dress: a brush drawing by Shao Fang, from Tun-huang mural.





Fig. 11. — Eighth Century dress: matronly type. By Shao Fang, from Tun-huang mural.



Fig. 12. - Tenth Century dress, showing strong Uighur Turkic influence.  
By Shao Fang, from Tun-huang mural.





Fig. 13. - Bird and flower motifs.



Fig. 14. - Tomb Figurines in situ, after a sketch by S. Yamanaka.



## PLATES





## DESCRIPTION OF THE FIGURINES IN THE PLATES

FRONTISPIECE. - Caravanier from Central Asia. (*Color Plate*).

Glazed green, yellow and brown. Camel 32 inches high.

Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute, Potter Palmer collection.

The driver is of mixed racial type, with deep-set eyes, prominent nose, and wide mouth characteristic of Northeastern Iranians. He wears his hair in braids, crossed at the base of the skull and pinned behind the ears, in the manner of the vassals of the Western Turks. See Pl. XXXV for companion pieces.

PLATE I. - Traditional robe and coiffure of the Han and post-Han eras.

Unglazed pottery, gray clay. 19 1/2 inches high.

Coll. of Hugh Scott, Philadelphia.

Courtesy of the Oriental Fine Arts Company.

PLATE II. - Semitic Merchants.

a. and b. Six Dynasties Figurine, unglazed, with traces of polychrome. 12 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

c. T'ang Figurine, glazed, creamy white. 12 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

d. T'ang Figurine, unglazed, colored with red pigment. 9 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

Both c. and d. wear felt hats which could be folded flat.

They wear tunics of Sassanian inspiration, and d. carries a jug of Persian type.

PLATE III. - Armenoid Wine-sellers of the T'ang Period.

a. and b. Glazed Figurine: white, green, yellow, brown and black. 13 1/4 inches high.

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

8th century.

c. and d. Glazed Figurine: white and polychrome. 14 3/4 inches high. (*Color Plate*).

Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller memorial collection.

e. Glazed Figurine: white, yellowish and green. 14 1/2 inches high, 10 inches wide from crook of elbow through right arm.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

All of these have noses like beaks of a bird of prey, separated from the forehead by a deep horizontal crease.

Deep-set, lustrous eyes look out from under heavy brows.

Hair is luxuriant and glossy. The head is set on such a short neck that it seems to rise directly from the thick upper chest. They wear tunics of Persian inspiration, and sell their wine from skins.

PLATE IV. — Bowl of Yezdegerd II, Sassanian Period, Persia.

On this 5th century metal bowl details of costume may be easily studied. The king wears the characteristic tunic with round neck and tight sleeves; his sword hangs from a belt drawn tight around his slender waist. The boot with peaked top which reaches almost to the knee is worn over tight trousers which are made of a fabric ornamented by the triple-pearl design. His companion wears a waist with tight sleeves under a long tunic; a full pleated skirt ripples out below it. She, too, wears a fabric of the triple-pearl design, and wears a necklace of pearls as does the king. Both wear streamers or scarves attached to their headdresses.

Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

PLATE V. — Westerners Wearing High Boots.

a. Unglazed Figurine, gray with traces of pigment.

Courtesy of Edward Wells.

b. Glazed, creamy white, 10 inches high. Man of Semitic type near Hittite.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE VI. — Falconers and Traveler in Long Coats.

a. and b. Falconers or gentlemen of the hunt.

Glazed green, yellow, and white. 15 1/4 inches high.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

c. Traveler in similar coat, called a camel driver.

Unglazed gray clay with traces of pigment. 15 inches high.

Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

All of these wear long coats with lapels stiffened in the Persian fashion, and they wear wide belts with hanging tabs as did the Persians. The "falconers" \* have pouches on the right hip; the traveler is similar to one in the Toledo Catalogue (no. 42) who has a pilgrim bottle attached to his belt. Though coat, belt and boots indicate Near Eastern fashion, the ethnic type is that of the Uighur Turks. The aimable expression of the falconers (whose birds are certainly not falcons) is produced by showing the lips parted in a slight smile which allows the teeth to show, a kind of realism which seems to have come in from the West.

\* See O. Kümmel, *Ausstellung Chinesischer Kunst*. No. 324.

PLATE VII. — Court Lady with Dancers and Musicians.

a. Group of unglazed figurines, white with red, brown and black pigment. 7 inches average height, except for court lady who is 15 inches.

b. Single figure from a.

Courtesy of the University Museum, Philadelphia.

c. White glazed, 7 inches and 10 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

The dancers and musicians illustrate the vogue for Western music and Western dress which marked a radical departure from the traditional flowing robe.



PLATE VIII. — Ladies in Eighth Century Dress.

Seated and standing glazed figurines showing variations of Western style in dress and coiffure.

Polychrome. 7 3/4 and 8 inches high.

All wear the high waisted blouse or jacket, long pleated skirt, and scarf. They wear court shoes.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

PLATE IX. — Uighur Turks.

Pair of officials, unglazed white pottery, pink slip on faces, necks and hands. Delicate black brush work on eyebrows, moustaches and beards. Breastplates ornamented with floral designs in red, blue and blue-green; sleeve painted green, undergarment red, with white trousers. 23 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of the Oriental Fine Arts Company.

PLATE X. — Four Musicians from Turfān and a Khorezmian Youth.

The musicians, of unglazed white clay with traces of red and black pigment, 5 inches high, represent the mingling of races in Turfān; they seem to be of mixed Uighur and Sogdian breed. They are splendid character studies of men intent on their music. They wear long tunics and boots, and sit upon circular wicker stools which were common in Central Asia. A similar group, though glazed, are in a Detroit Collection. (See Toledo Catalogue, Figs. 67-71).

Figure on the left in the author's collection. The photograph is courtesy of C. T. Loo.

Central figure, of a Khorezmian youth, is glazed creamy white, and is 7 1/4 inches high.

PLATE XI. — Court Dignitaries.

A pair of large figurines, 46 inches high, probably from Honan province. They stand upon rockery bases, typical of the beautifully glazed statuettes made in sizes larger than those approved by official regulation. The heads are unglazed, the bodies and bases glazed in green, yellow, brown and white splash or drip technique.

a. Civil official of a Khotanese or some other Southern Asiatic type (eyes wide apart, flaring nostrils, wide mouth, face broad and flat, low forehead.)

b. Uighur courtier.

Courtesy of ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XII. — Tocharians and Sogdian.

a. Men wearing cloaks or mantles of the Persian type, possibly the *mu li* of the Chinese texts. Unglazed white slip and red pigment visible. 9 1/2 inches high. Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

b. Tocharians, perhaps Christians, of the type painted at Khocho. Unglazed, 10 inches high, traces of unfired pigment.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

c. Groom holding imaginary lead rope, dressed for severe weather of the steppe country in peaked felt hat with ear-flaps, heavy coat of Eastern Iranian style, and thick boots. Sogdian type.

Glazed. 29 1/4 inches high.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

- d. Tocharian with Altaic mixture: serving man. 9 1/2 inches high. Unglazed. White slip on face, red on blouse. Early T'ang period.

Courtesy of the Oriental Fine Arts, Inc., N. Y.

- e. Man in armor. Black clay. Solid. Tocharian type. 11 5/8 inches high. Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

PLATE XIII. — Musicians and Dancers from Kuchā.

Girls from the Western Regions sent to China in the 6th century. Early T'ang figurines; thin, yellowish glaze. Standing dancers 10 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XIV. — Musicians of the Early T'ang Period.

A group of ladies similar to those of pl. XIII. Glazed, thin yellowish white in color. 10 inches high. Found in a 7th century tomb.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XV. — Tocharian Ladies Wearing *Wei Mao*.

- a. and b. Cream glazed figures of Sui and early T'ang eras; pigment added, red, green, blue and black. 13 inches high.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo, and author's collection.

- c. Similar figure. 12 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of Oriental Fine Arts, Inc. N. Y.

PLATE XVI. — Early T'ang Ladies in Dresses of the Kuchā Style.

Figures representing 7th century fashion brought in from Central Asia. Unglazed, white slip and traces of red and black pigment. Figure at the left, 10.3 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XVII. — Men from Kāshghar.

- a. Rug merchant, who seems to be knocking at the gate to sell his wares which he carries in a bundle under his left arm. He has the deep-set eyes of people on the borders of Eastern Iran, straight black hair, a forked, black beard, and neck of medium length. There is a marked protuberance of the forehead above the eyes. He wears a short sleeved tunic with a heavy sash tied around the hips; one long lapel is open. Unglazed, white clay with pink and red pigment. 13 inches high.

Courtesy of C. T. Loo.

- b. Man with similar facial characteristics, though body very much resembles pl. II, d. Unglazed, traces of color. 10 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, the Eugene Fuller memorial collection.

PLATE XVIII. — Western Turk and Vassal of the Turks.

- a. Altaic Turk, a groom. Buff clay, decomposed amber and green glaze. 13 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

Illustrated: Bulletin 21, West-East Exhibition Catalogue no. 18, Pl. I. Text by Helen E. Fernald. ROMA, Toronto, October, 1953.



- b.* Groom with horse, in the tomb group buried with General Yang in 693. Glazed green, yellow and brown. 27 inches high. The horse trappings are of the Sassanian style. The man is of mixed racial type, though his dress is Eastern Iranian, and he wears his hair braided, following Turkish custom. Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XIX. — Caravan Man from Northeastern Iran.

- a.* Camel and driver from tomb of General Yang, buried 693. Polychrome glaze, green, yellow and brown. Camel 32 inches high. The man wears a high felt hat of the type seen on Sassanian coins. He has the deep-set eyes and prominent nose of the people of Caucaso-Iranian type who lived north of the T'ien Shan.
- b.* Profile view.
- c.* Full face.
- He is intended to represent a real "caravanier" as made by a Chinese artist, but suggests a comic character of Turkish drama and even the Punch of European comedy.
- Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XX. — Men of Caucaso-Iranian Type.

- a.* Partially glazed figure; head and neck of white clay, coat glazed green, lapels of yellow and coattails lined with yellow. (They are pinned back). White glaze on trousers. Black pigment used on eyes. Finely modelled face; eyes set deep, under wrinkled forehead; nose with high bridge and flaring nostrils; moustache uncurled, broad mouth, and beard which juts out sharply immediately below the lip, different from both Semitic and Armenoid. 18 inches high. Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.
- b.* Large figure, 40 1/2 inches high, glazed green, brown and white; heavy black pigment used in painting eyebrows, eyes, moustache and beard. Eyes not as deep-set as in *a*, nor has nose so high a bridge. The addition of the heavy brows, moustache and beard suggest that an Iranian or Sogdian had been ordered, and the figurine was painted to please the patron, rather than modelled to represent the type.
- Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller memorial collection.

PLATE XXI. — Ox-cart Traders from Khorezmia.

- a.* Glazed group 16 1/2 inches high, 21 inches long, 14 1/2 inches wide. Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller memorial collection.
- b.* Unglazed figurines, traces of pigment, 22 inches high, 28 inches long. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

PLATE XXII. — Men from the Same Locale.

- a.* Equestrians and grayhound. The men, wearing felt hats, resemble the ox-cart drivers in face, physique and dress, and probably represent Khorezmians. Unglazed for the most part, but traces of slight spots of glaze remain. White slip, and red pigment to emphasize lips and details of costume. 9 1/2 inches high. Dog, 5 inches high, unglazed.
- Courtesy of Oriental Fine Arts, Inc. N. Y.

- b.* Khorezmian with Altaic admixture. Upper part covered with light yellowish glaze. 11 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller memorial collection.

See Plate X, central figure, for another Khorezmian.

PLATE XXIII. — Young Grooms with Curly Hair.

- a.* Unglazed figure 11 inches high.

- b.* Unglazed figure 11 1/4 inches high.

Courtesy of the Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller memorial collection.

- c.* Glazed figure, brown on body, yellow on hair, 11 7/8 inches high.

- d.* Unglazed figure, traces of red pigment in garment. 12 inches high.

Courtesy of the Art Institute, Chicago, Potter Palmer collection.

These, and the Toronto figurines, are very similar, suggesting that the same moulds were used, but they vary slightly in height. They were made by joining two vertical moulds together at the sides. Arms were added, set at different angles. The curly hair is entirely non-Chinese, and suggests the Lapith on the Western Façade on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. (See Picard, C. *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*. Paris, 1939. vol. II, fig. 99). It is not uncommon in the Hellenistic period of Greek art to find archaistic features copied from earlier times; even in Taxila the "cap of curls" may be observed as late as the 4th-5th century A. D. in a stone head. (Rowland, B., Jr. "The Hellenistic Tradition in Northwest India." *Op. cit.*, fig. 5). In Central Asia this Greek motif may be seen in stucco figures such as in von Le Coq, *Die Plastik*, *op. cit.*, pl. 26.

PLATE XXIV. — The K'un-lun Boys and Young Grooms.

- a.* and *b.* Figures similar to those of Pl. XXIII. Unglazed, traces of pigment. 10 inches high. The Hindu drapery and curly hair are identical, suggesting that the figures were made in the same moulds, but one may observe in *b* a considerable thickening of the leg and foot area, indicating that the vertical moulds were not so skillfully joined together. (*b* is 1/4 inch wider than *a*). White pottery, traces of glaze on heads. Pink, red and green pigment.

- c.* A dancer, or leader of a procession, who resembles *d.*, but wears more drapery over the torso, and does not wear the necklace, bracelets and anklets of *d*. The hair is not arranged in ringlets as in *a* and *b*, but is obviously intended to represent curls. Partially glazed in yellow-greenish transparent glaze. 11 1/8 inches high.

- d.* Drummer boy of the K'un-lun type. The torso, drapery and jewelry are Hindu. The face and curls are nearer Javanese models from Prambanan. The pose, suggesting that he holds drumsticks and is about to beat a drum that might have been suspended from a cord about his neck, is the same as that of a drummer in a Tun-huang mural who heads a procession. In the murals and temple banners similar figures are dark-skinned. Unglazed figure, traces of dark pigment and gold. 10 3/4 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.



PLATE XXV. — K'un-lun Drummers.

- a.* and *b.* Drummer boy, representing a dark-skinned, southern type with curly hair (see text for discussion of K'un-lun). The torso, drapery and jewelry are Hindu; the curly hair may have been intended to suggest kinky hair. Unglazed figure, traces of pigment. 9 1/2 inches high.  
Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.
- c.* Similar figure, arms set at a different angle; no support under left heel. Glazed entirely in green. 11 1/2 inches high.  
Courtesy of the Art Institute, Chicago, the Potter Palmer collection.

PLATE XXVI. — Box with Bird Motifs on Lid.

Painting in gold and silver on a blue ground. From the Shōsōin collection catalogue, vol. IX, pl. 6.

PLATE XXVII. — Dignitary from Khotan.

- a.* Civil Official of the type living on the Southern trade route. Receding forehead, eyes wide apart, bulging eye balls, flaring nostrils, thick lips. Unglazed, of dark gray stoneware; body hollow, imprint of large piece of wood around which it had been moulded still visible inside. Green pigment on sleeves, red on coat; buff and white visible beneath. 24 1/2 inches high.
- b.* Detail of *a.*  
Courtesy of Warren E. Cox, Associates.

PLATE XXVIII. — Two Dignitaries, one from Khotan.

- a.* Civil official of Khotanese type. Body glazed white, green, yellow and brown. Head unglazed. The deep crease of the frown is similar to Hellenistic modelling on heads from Hadda, (Barthoux, *op. cit.*, pl. 42; pl. 63 *b* and *c*; pl. 87 *c*), the stone head from Taxila (Rowland, *op. cit.*, fig. 5), and earlier sculpture from Taxila (*ibid.*, fig. 1), and Aphrodisias in Caria of the 1st century A. D. (*ibid.*, fig. 2). Height, 32 3/4 inches.
- b.* Civil Official of Uighur Turkic type. Body glazed white, green, yellow and brown. Head unglazed. Height, 33 inches.  
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

PLATE XXIX. — Youth from Khotan.

- a.* White clay figure covered with light transparent glaze to legs. Traces of black pigment in curly hair and on sleeves and sash; sash is wide cloth, knotted in back. The face is like one from Taxila (Sir John Marshall, *Archaeological survey of India, Annual Report 1929-30*, pl. XIV, 3) which portrays a man with open mouth, teeth showing; eyes with pupils carefully indicated, and eyes spaced wide apart; prominent nose with flaring nostrils; low receding forehead. Another head, from Bāmiyān (J. Hackin, *Nouvelles Recherches à Bāmiyān*, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI, fig. 77) is of similar contour, and has curly bangs, eyes set wide apart, and lips parted to show the teeth. All of these non-Chinese characteristics indicate the extent of Greco-Roman influence on T'ang art. This youth has the pleasant expression of one of the easy-going inhabitants of Khotan, which is enhanced by a dimple.
- b.* Side view of *a.* 10 1/2 inches high.  
Courtesy of the ROM, Toronto.

PLATE XXX. — Polo Players.

Four figures of equestriennes engaged in the sport which was popular in Khotan and China. Unglazed, traces of pigment. Average height, 10 inches.  
Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

PLATE XXXI. — Lady Wearing a *Mu Li* Cloak.

Early T'ang figurine, unglazed, covered with a white slip, and traces of red, pink, and black pigment.  
14 1/2 inches high  
Collection of the author.

PLATE XXXII. — Acrobats of the Wei Dynasty.

- a. Unglazed figurine. 9 1/2 inches high.
- b. and c. Unglazed figurine. 10 1/2 inches high.

Interest in individuality, but still no desire to show realistic anatomy.  
Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

PLATE XXXIII. — Tomb Retinue of Wei Dynasty.

- a. Retinue of soldiers, musicians, etc.  
Gray pottery, unglazed, red and white slip.  
Standing figures 8 inches high.  
Warriors with shields, 7 1/4 inches high.  
Attendants wearing cloaks 7 1/4 inches high.  
Ox-cart 8 1/2 inches high.  
Mounted guards 9 1/2 inches high.  
All figures are hollow.
- b. Details of a.  
Courtesy of the Oriental Fine Arts, Inc.

PLATE XXXIV. — Female Head Joined to Male Body, and Male of Similar Type.

- a. Unglazed head joined to glazed body; splash of glaze extends over neck in back, proving that it was so made in the T'ang period. Glazed. Green and yellow.
- b. Male figure, body probably made in the same mould, boots, arms and head, pouch at belt added.

Head is of same type as grooms from the Western Regions with hair in braids crossed behind the head. 10 1/2 inches high.  
Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XXXV. — T'ang Tomb Retinue.

- Two Dignitaries.
- Two Warriors (*Lokapāla*).
- Two Camels, three Caravaniers.
- Two Horses, one Groom.
- Two Earth Spirits.
- Polychrome glazes.
- Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute, the Potter Palmer collection.



PLATE XXXVI. — Soldier of the Six Dynasties Period.

Gray clay figure, unglazed, 15 inches high.

Courtesy of the ROMA, Toronto.

PLATE XXXVII. — Soldier in Plate Mail from Central Asia, and an Early T'ang Warrior.

*a.* and *b.* Soldier in plate mail from Central Asia. Figurine of clay reinforced with cloth fibre, of the Astāna type. Details in red, yellow, blue and white pigment. Unglazed. Racially, a Tocharian with East Iranian elements. 13 1/8 inches high including base.

Courtesy of Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Similar types in Metropolitan Museum, New York.

*c.* Early T'ang Warrior in sheet armor and plate mail skirt. Probably Honan. Figure partially glazed, with pigments added. The armor is painted red, with touches of gold, black and a little green. Face unglazed; very black brows painted on, and long moustache with curling ends; a dot of black indicates a beard. Racially, Tocharian with Altaic admixture. 10 inches high.

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

PLATE XXXVIII. — T'ang Soldiers.

*a.* Bust of a warrior. Light glaze. 12 1/2 inches high.

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

*b.* Full length warrior, very similar to *a.* Details of armor added in red, green and black pigment over light glaze. 26 1/2 inches high.

The exaggerated frown, derived from Hellenistic art, has become a linear motif. The fierce expression, part of "psychological warfare," became as popular in Japan as in China.

Courtesy of ROMA, Toronto.

*c.* Soldier of lesser rank. Yellow glazed figure in sheet and plate armor. Helmet fits closely over head. Face similar to Western Asiatic types found at Hadda, like Gauls of Hellenistic art (see Bienkowski, P. R. von. *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in Hellenistischer Kunst*. Vienna, 1908. Fig. 24 *a*, p. 18), probably Galicians, many of whom were in Afghanistan to judge by stucco heads, Stein, *Innermost Asia*. Op. cit., vol. III, pl. V). Height, 22 inches.

*d.* Body so similar to *c*, it was probably made from the same mould. Yellow glaze, also, red pigment on armor. Head covered by animal helmet; face resembles man from Hadda. (Grousset. *De la Grece à la Chine*. p. 46).

Height 22 inches.

Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

PLATE XXXIX. — Lokapāla or T'ien Wang.

One of the Guardians of the Four Directions, a Buddhist deity adopted as part of the T'ang tomb retinue. The armor closely resembles that worn by Chinese army officers. The face resembles a grotesque, half animal and half human, such as were made by Khotanese potters. (Montell, op. cit., pl. VII, 8, and fig. 14, *a* and *b* on p. 173). Unglazed figure. 28 inches high.

Courtesy of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

PLATE XL. — Guardian or Soldier.

Figure in elaborate armor, unglazed, elaborate patterns in unfired pigments.

The face is so grotesque that it may represent a deity rather than a soldier.  
Height 26 1/2 inches.

Courtesy of Oriental Fine Arts, Inc.

PLATE XLI. — Lady of the Eighth Century.

Painted terra cotta figure, made of a solid piece of red clay, covered with white and red pigment on face and costume, black on hair.

The matronly type, showing modification of costume worn by slender girls. This same kind of dress was used as late as the 9th century. Height 14 inches.

Courtesy of Oriental Fine Arts, Inc.

PLATE XLII. — Acrobats and Musicians from a Painted Bow.

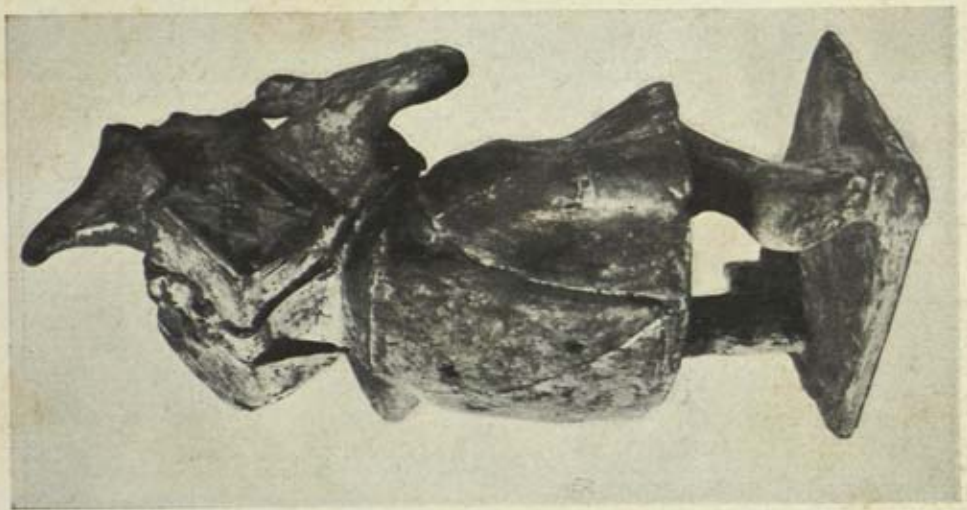
Many variations of tunic, boot and hat may be seen in these little figures painted on a snapping bow.

Shōsōin collection. pl. 40, vol. VIII of Harada Catalogue, op. cit.



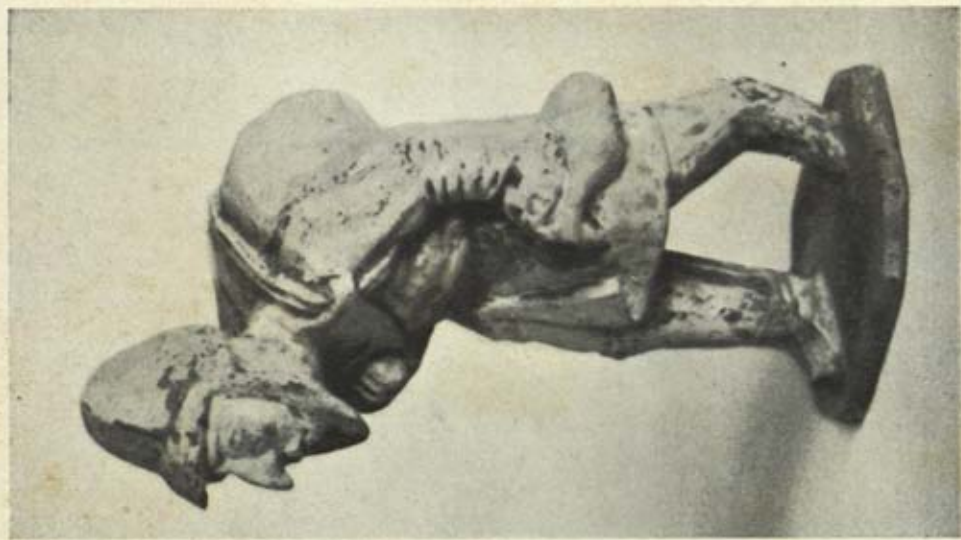


1. - Chinese Lady. Han or post-Han.



II, *a, b*. — Semitic Merchant. Period of the Six Dynasties.





II, c, d. - Semitic Merchants. T'ang Period.

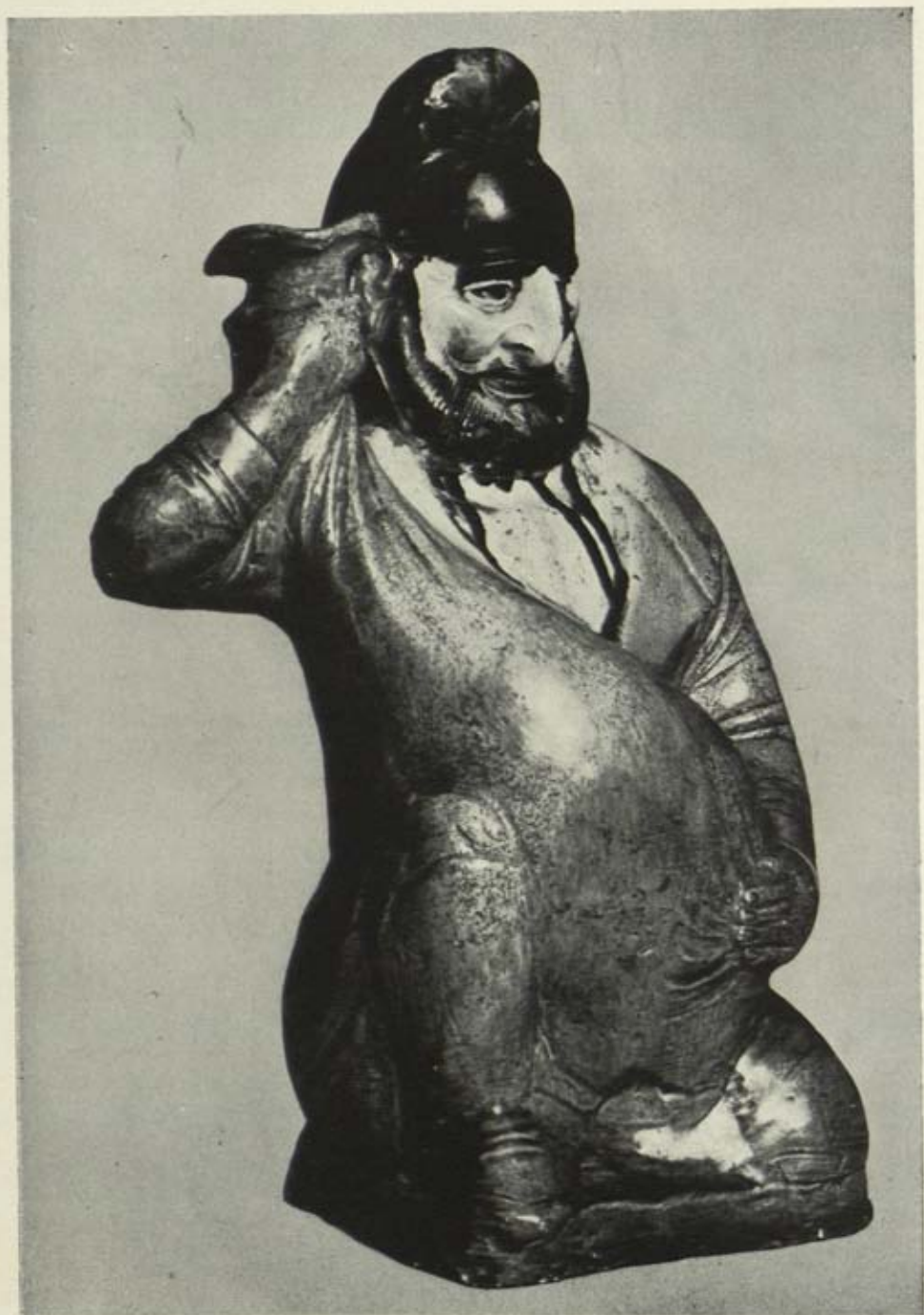


III, *a.* - Armenoid Wine-seller. T'ang Period.





III, *b.* - Side view of Pl. III *a.*



III, c. - Armenoid Wine-seller. T'ang Period.





III, *d.* – Front view of Pl. III *c.*



III, c. - Armenoid Wine-seller. T'ang Period.





IV. - Sassanian bowl of Yezdegerd II, Persia. Fifth Century.



V, a. - Western Asiatic Wearing High Boots.





V, b. - Semitic. T'ang Period.

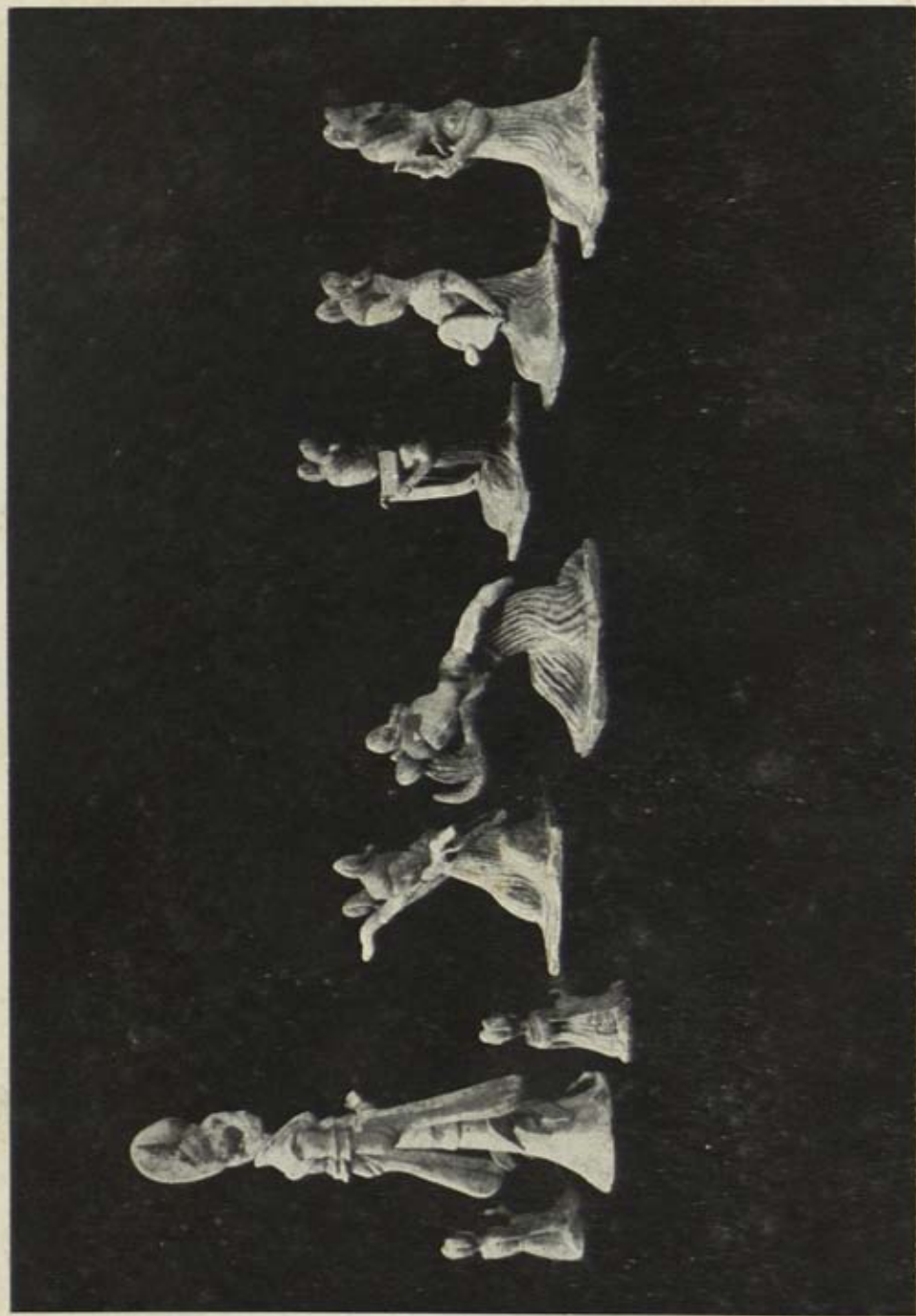


VI, *a, b.* — Uighur Turks, "Falconers". T'ang Period.





VI, c. - Camel Driver. T'ang Period.

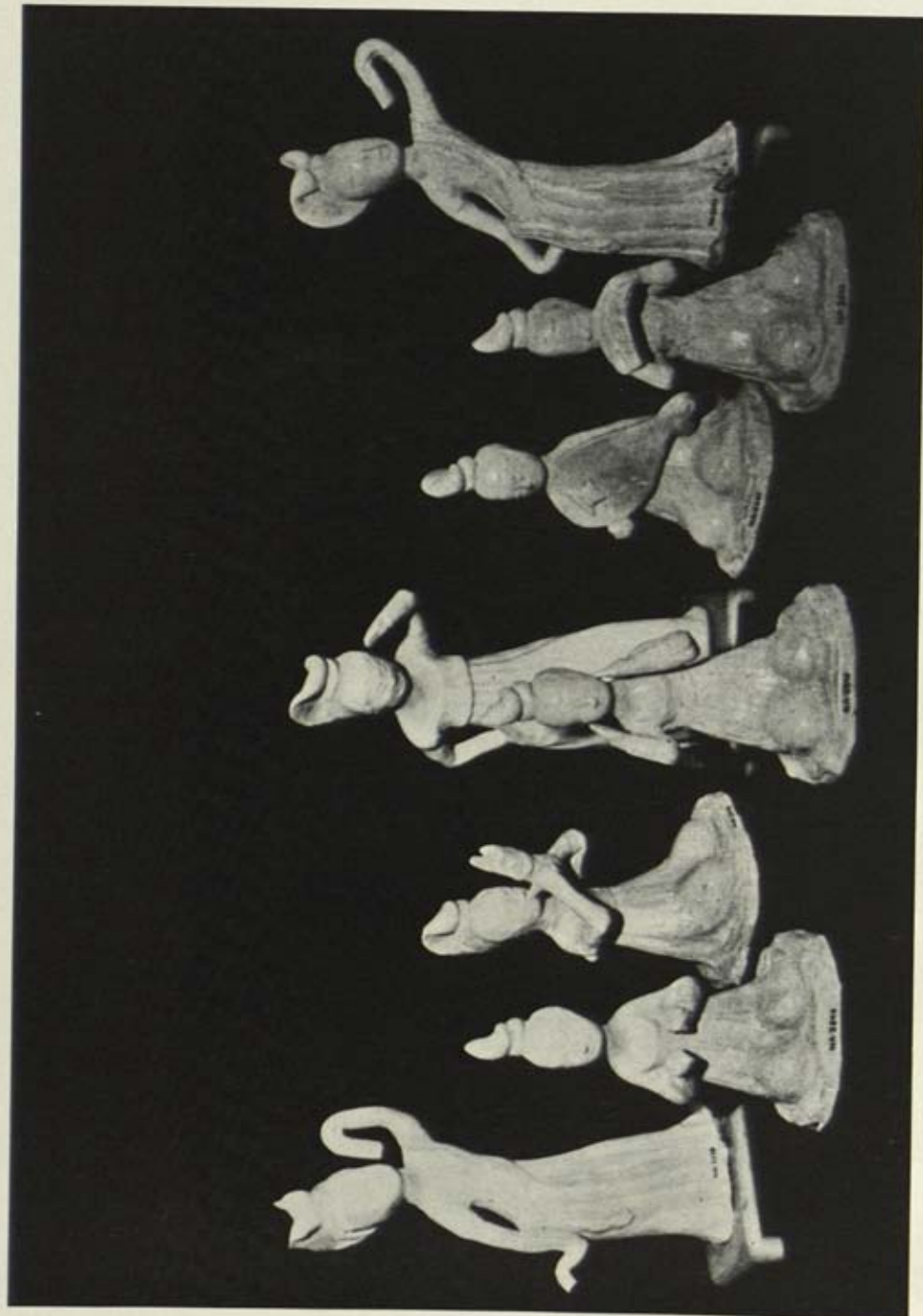


VII, *a.* - Court Lady with Dancers and Musicians. Early T'ang.





VII, *b*. – Dancer, from Pl. VII *a*.



VII, c. - Dancers and Musicians. Early T'ang.



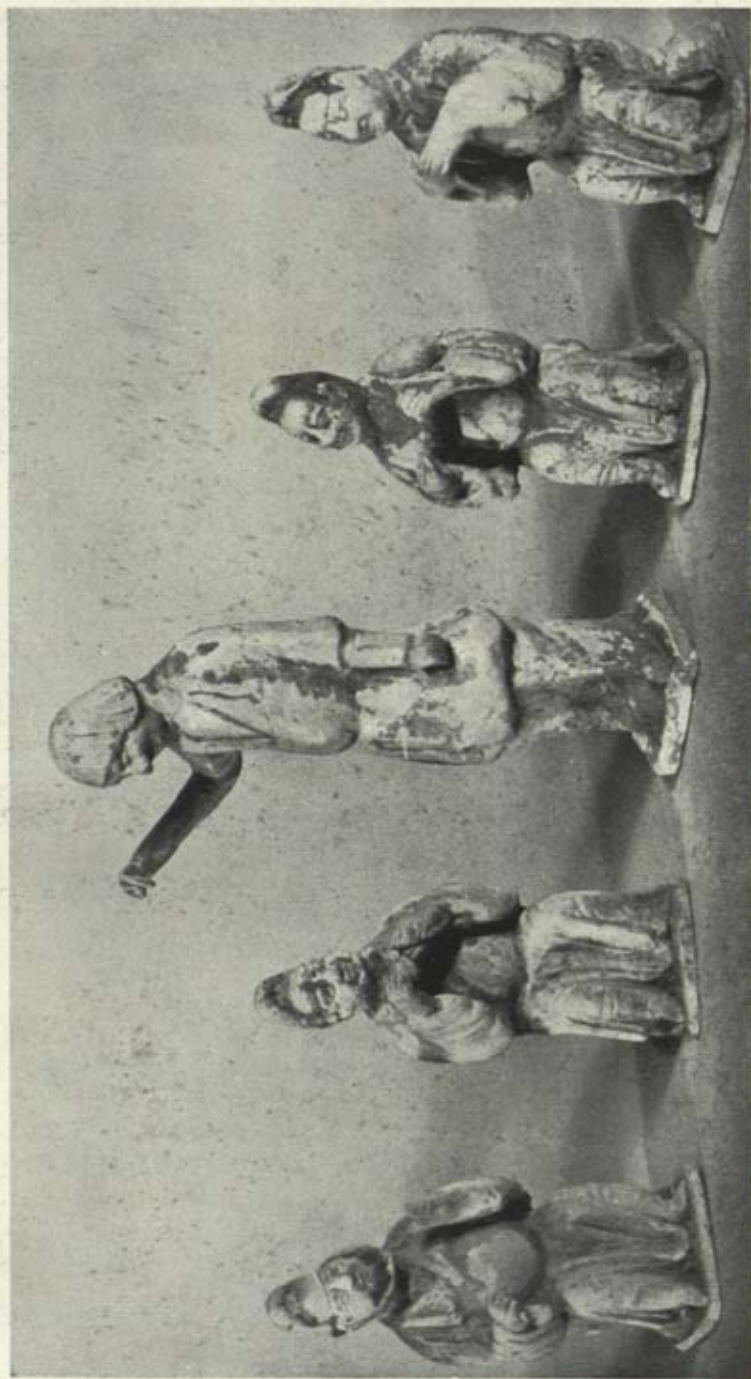


VIII. - Chinese Ladies Wearing Eighth Century Dress.



IX. - Uighur Turks, Officials. T'ang Period.



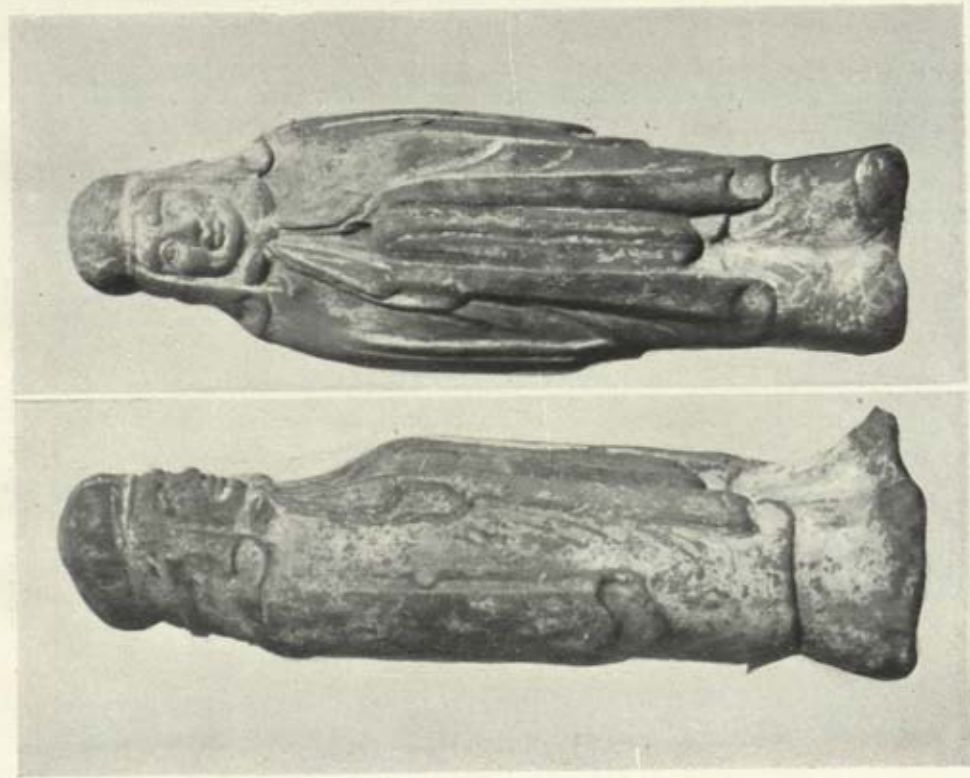


X. - Four Musicians from Turfan and Khorezmian Youth, Tang Period.

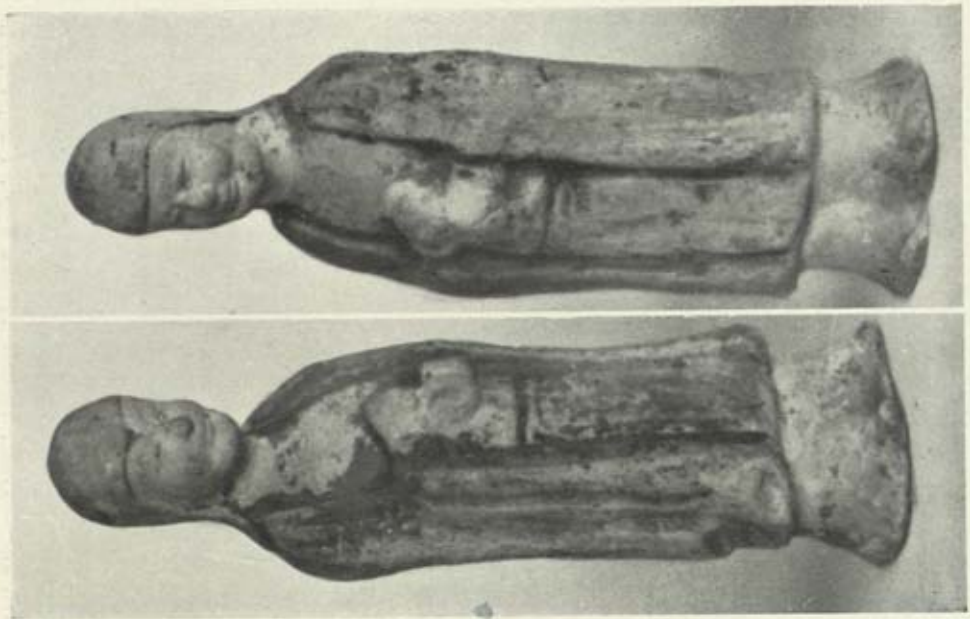


XI. - Court Dignitaries, T'ang Period. *a.* - Khotanese or Southeast Asian; *b.* - Uighur.





XII, *a*. - Tocharian Men, T'ang Period.



XII, *b*. - Turfan Men, Sino-Tocharian Type, Early T'ang.



XII, c. - Sogdian Groom, T'ang Period.

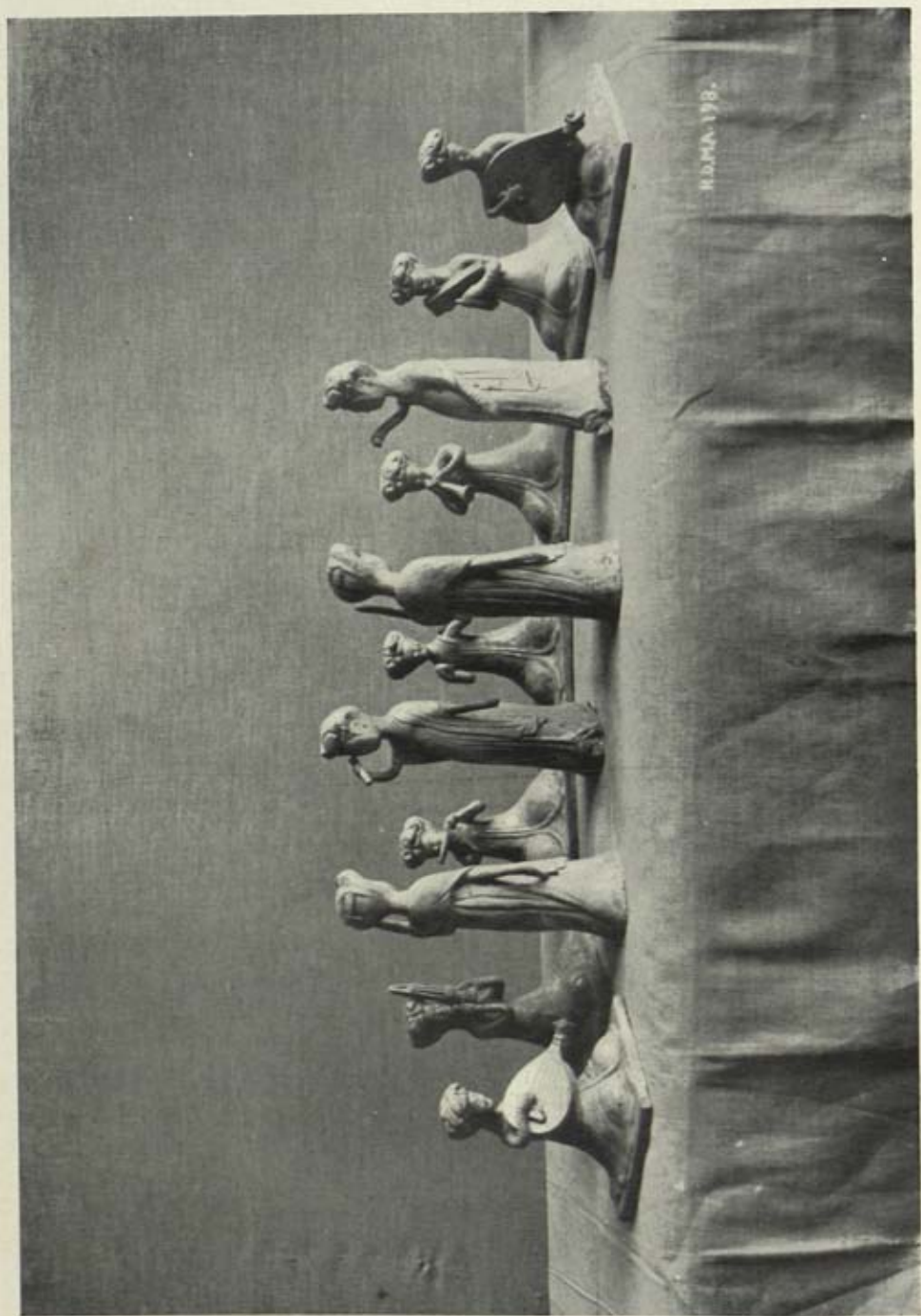


XII, d. - Servant, Tocharian-Altaic Type, T'ang Period.



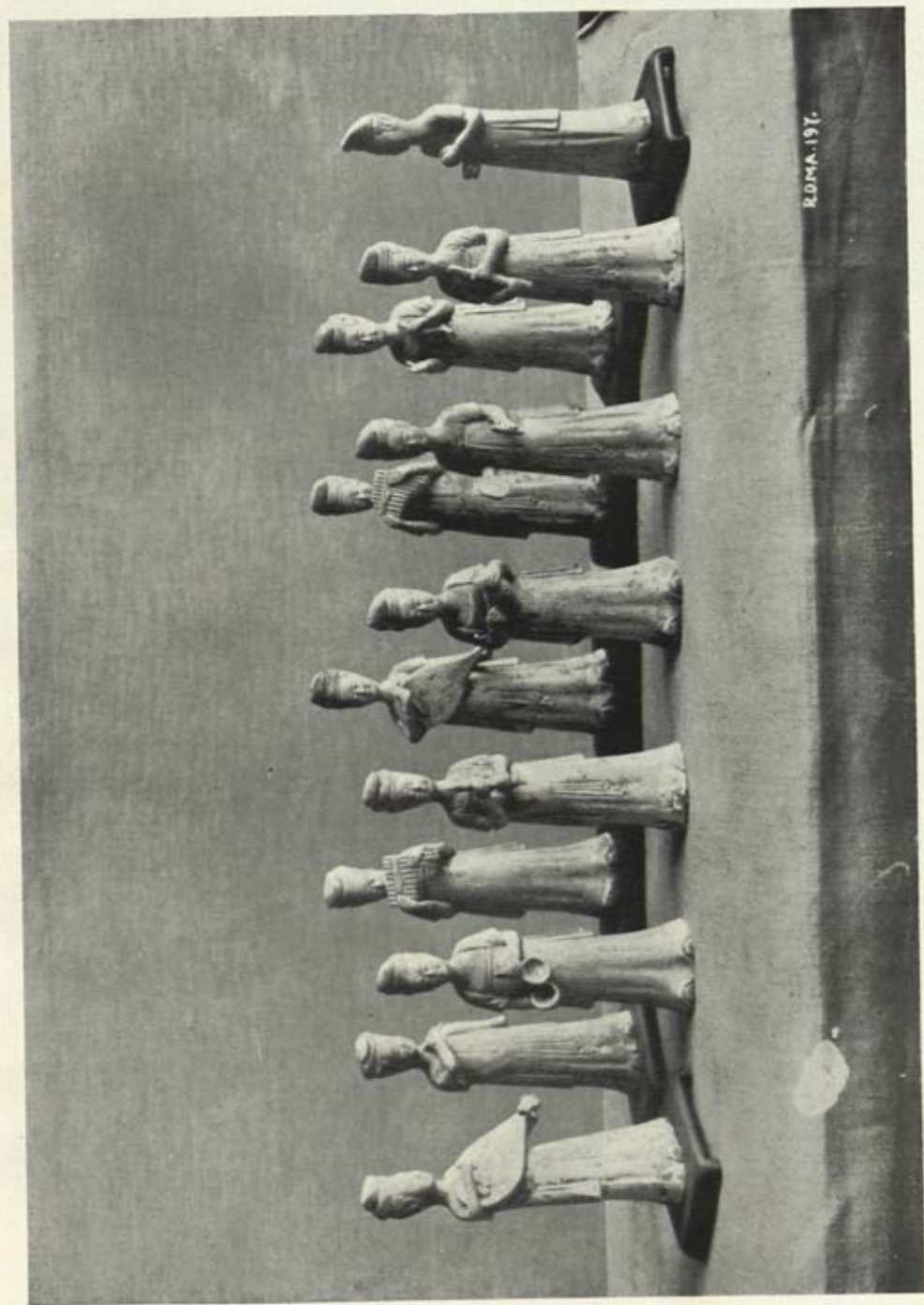


XII, *e*. - Tocharian Soldier. Early T'ang.



XIII. - Musicians and Dancers from Kuchā, Early T'ang.





ROMA. 197.

XIV. - Musicians from a Seventh Century Tomb.

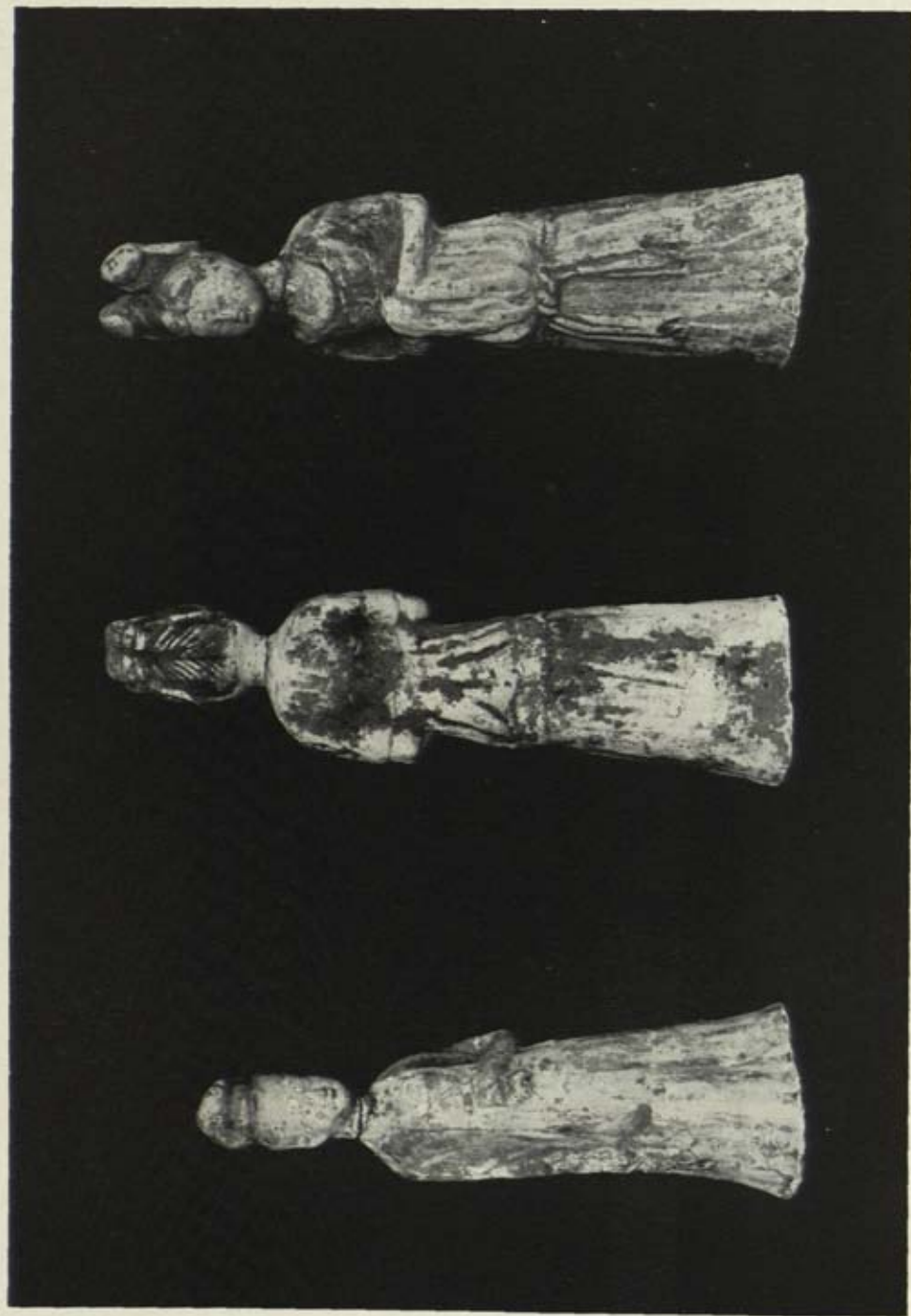


XV. - Tocharian Equestriennes. Early T'ang. *a.* - Wears *wei mao* Hat; *b.* - Hat removed; Coiffure covered by Veil.





XV, c. - Tocharian Equestrienne Wearing *Wei Mao*. Early T'ang.



XVI. - Chinese Ladies in Dresses of the Kucha Style, Early T'ang.





XVII, *a.* – Rug Merchant from Kāshghar. T'ang Period.

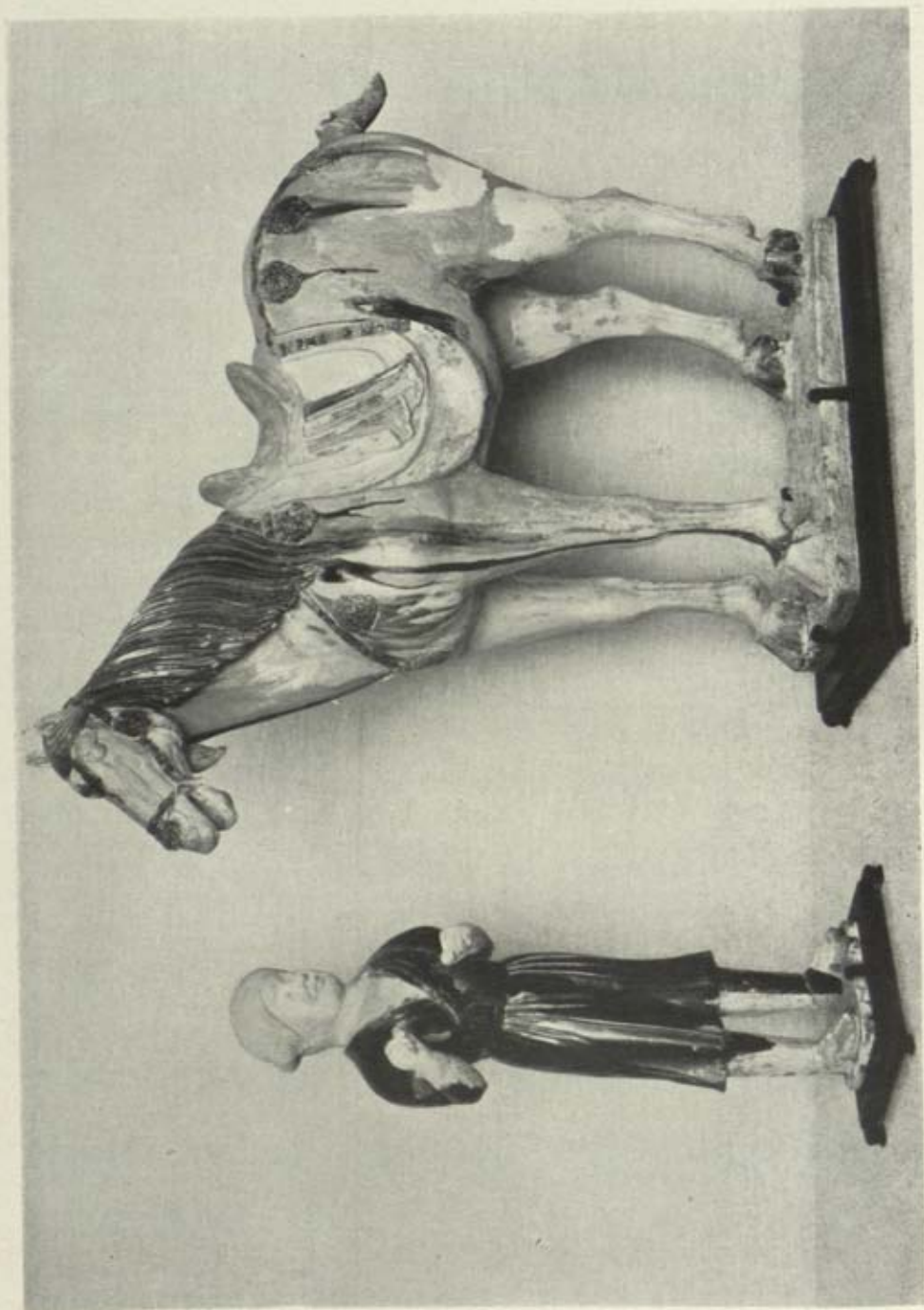


XVII, b. — Peddler from Kāshghar. T'ang Period.



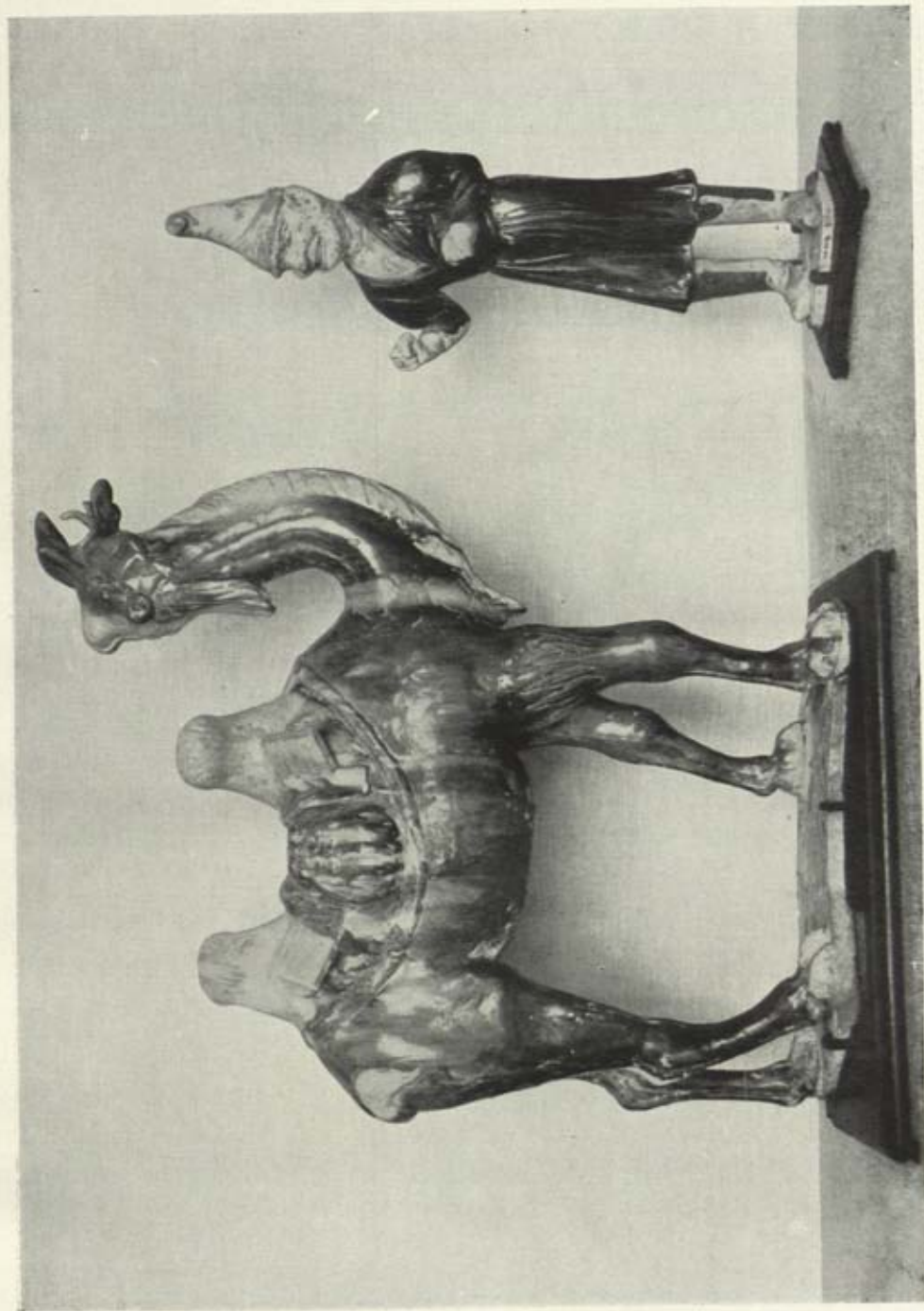


XVIII, *a.* – Western Turk (Altaic), a Groom. Tang Period.

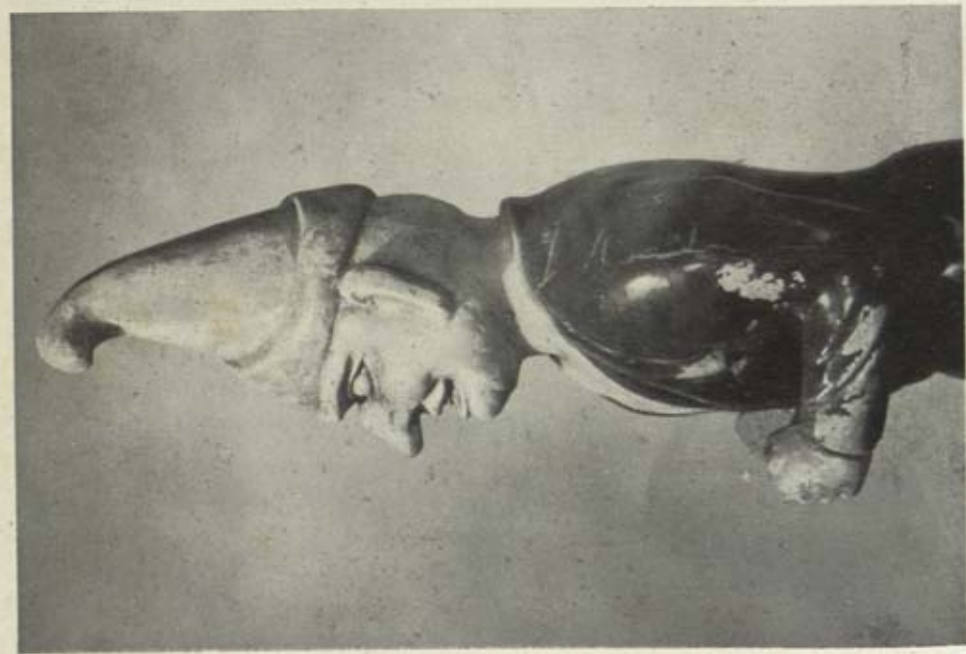


XVIII, *b*. - Groom of Mixed Racial Type, with Horse, Seventh Century.





XIX, a. - Caravan Man from Northeastern Iran, with Camel. Seventh Century.



XIX, *b, c*, - Caravaneer from Pl. XIX *a*.



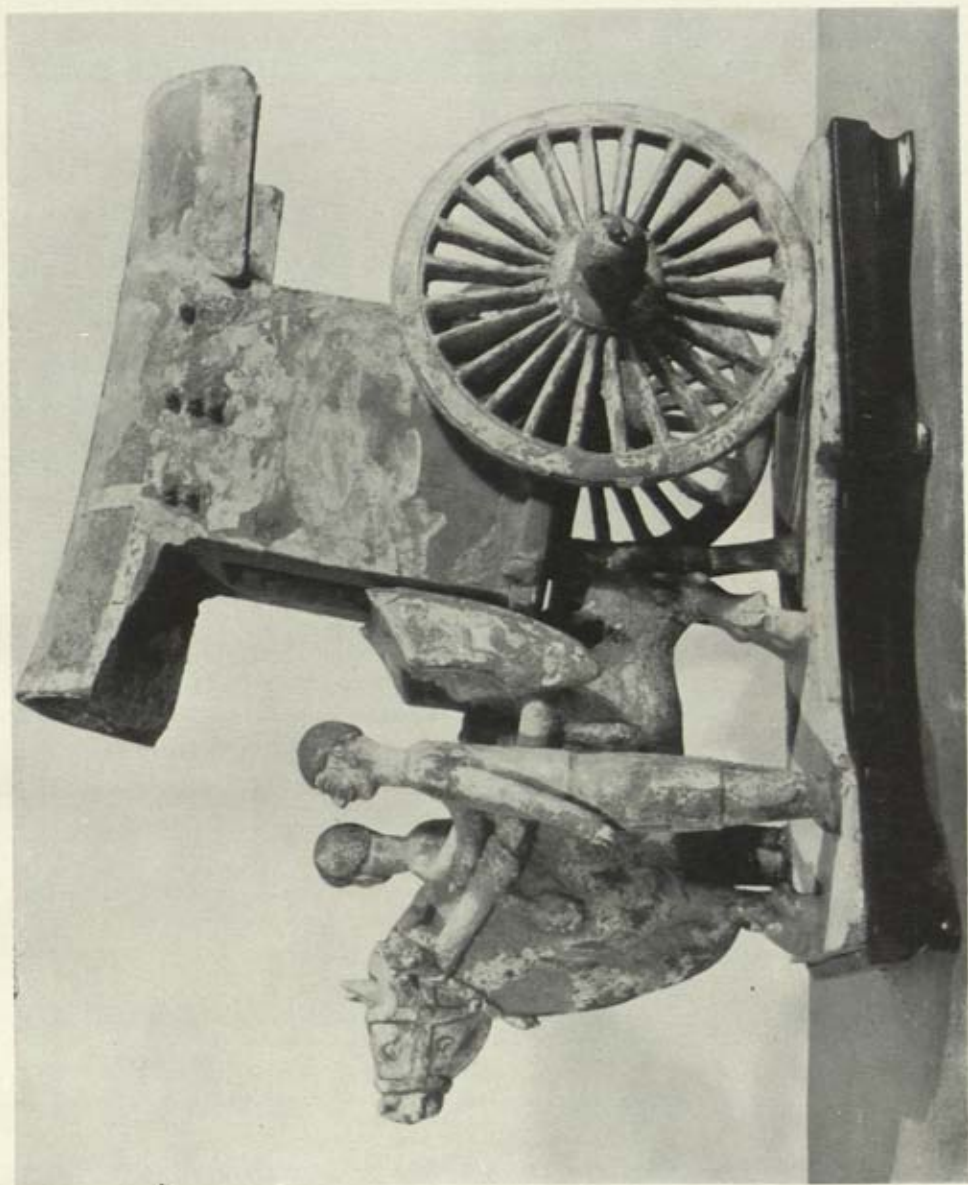


XX. — Men of Caucaso-Iranian Type, T'ang Period. *a.* — Groom; *b.* — Dignitary.



XXI, a. — Khorezmians and Ox-cart. Early T'ang.





XXI, 6. — Khorezmians and Ox-cart. Early T'ang.



XXII, a. — Khorezmian Equestrians and Grayhound. Early Tang.



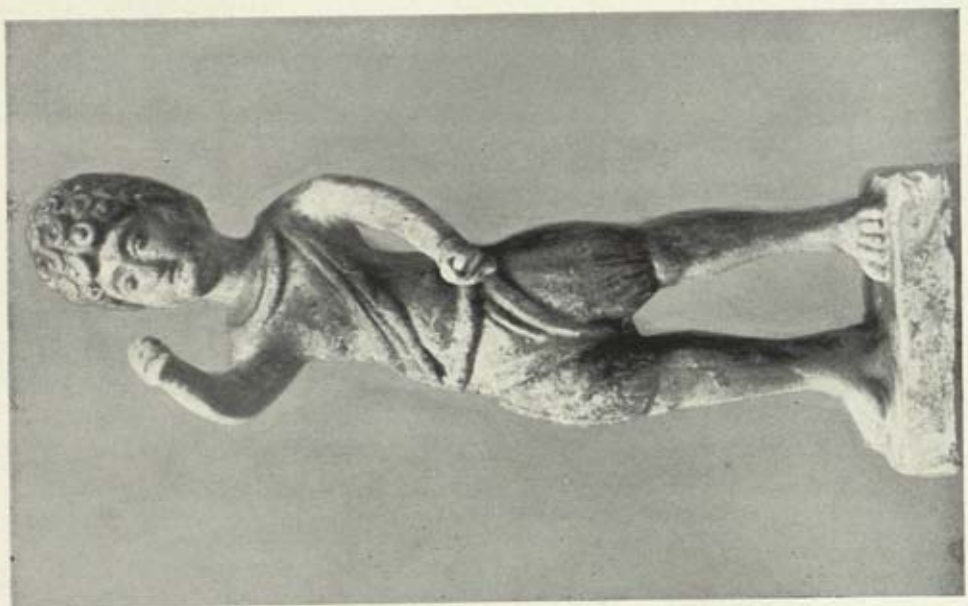


XXII, *b*. - Altaic-Khorezmian. Early T'ang.



XXIII, *a, b*, - Young Grooms with Curly Hair. T'ang Period.





XXIII, *c. d.* — Young Grooms with Curly Hair. Tang Period.



XXIV, *a, b.* - Young Grooms with Curly Hair. Tang Period. *c, d.* - Dancer and Drummer from Southeast Asia. Tang Period.



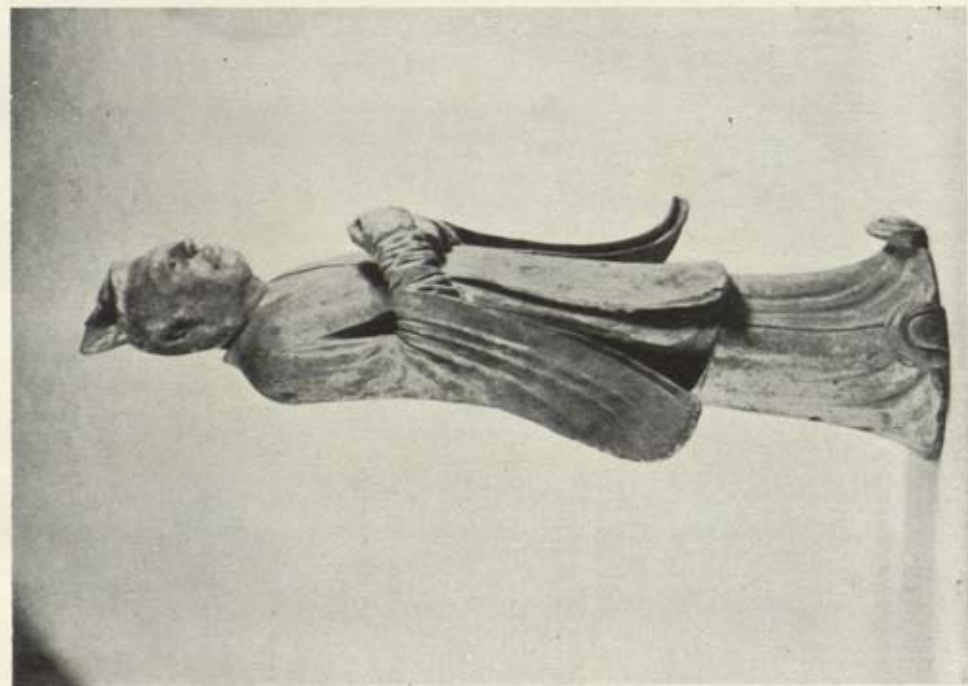


XXV, a, b, c. - Drummers from Southeast Asia, T'ang Period.

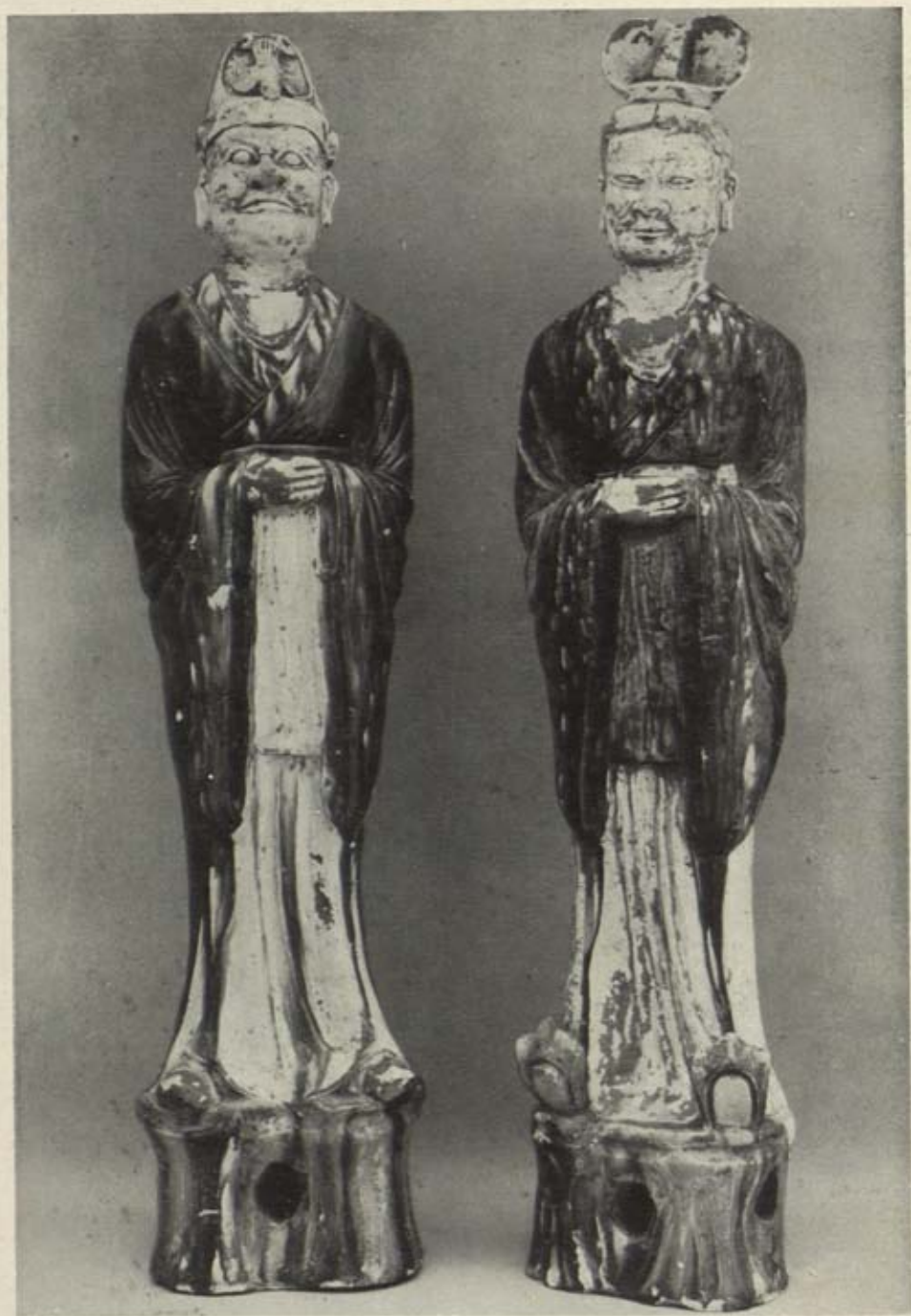


XXVI. - Blue Box, with designs painted in gold and silver. Eighth Century. Shōsōin.





XXVII, *a, b.* - Khotanese Dignitary, T'ang Period.



XXVIII. - Dignitaries. Tang Period.  
*a.* - Civil Official, Khotanese Type; *b.* - Civil Official, Uighur Turk.



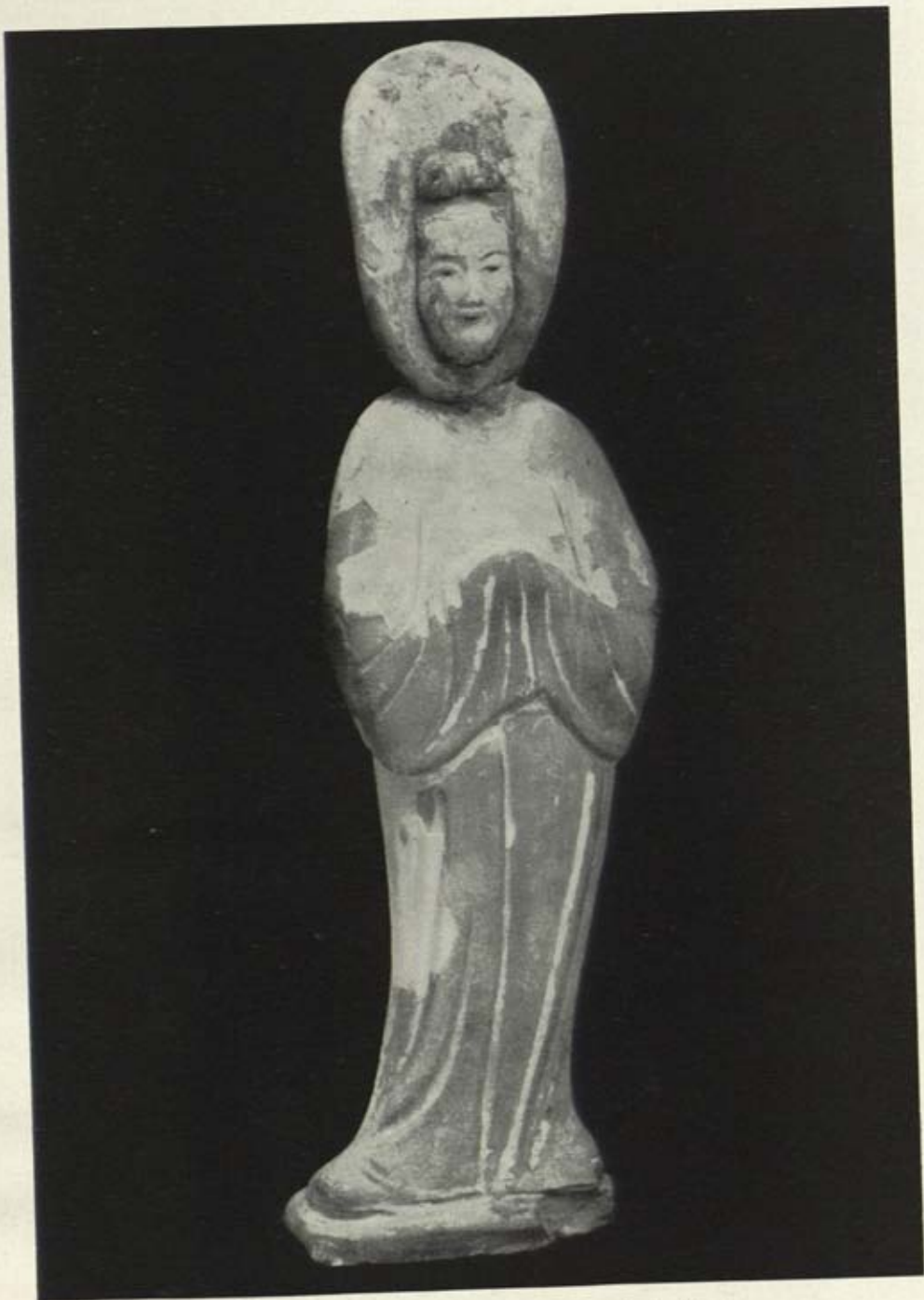


XXIX, *a, b.* — Youth from Khotan. Early T'ang.

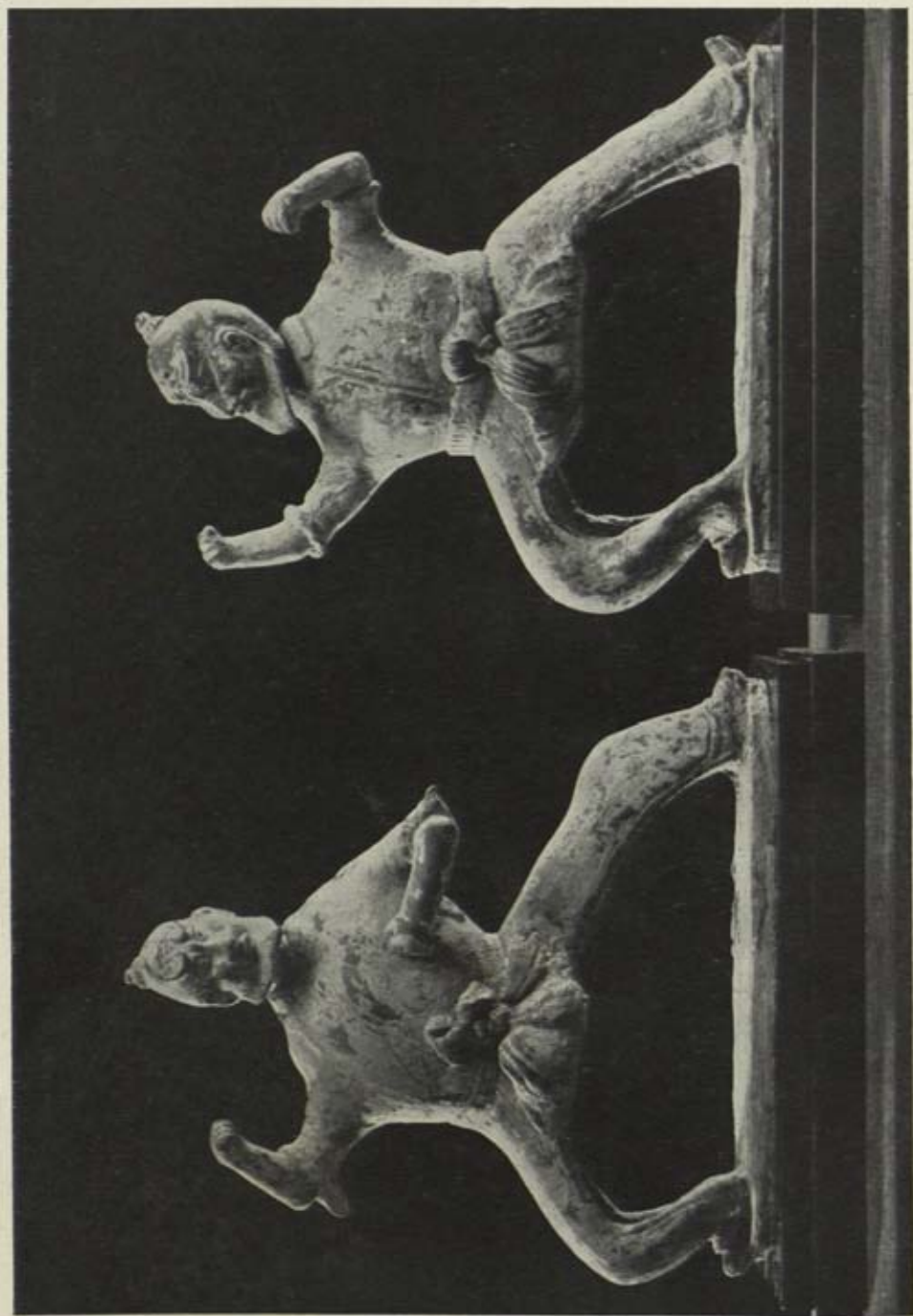


XXX. - Polo Players, Female, T'ang Period.





XXXI. - Lady Wearing *Mu Li* Cloak. Early T'ang.

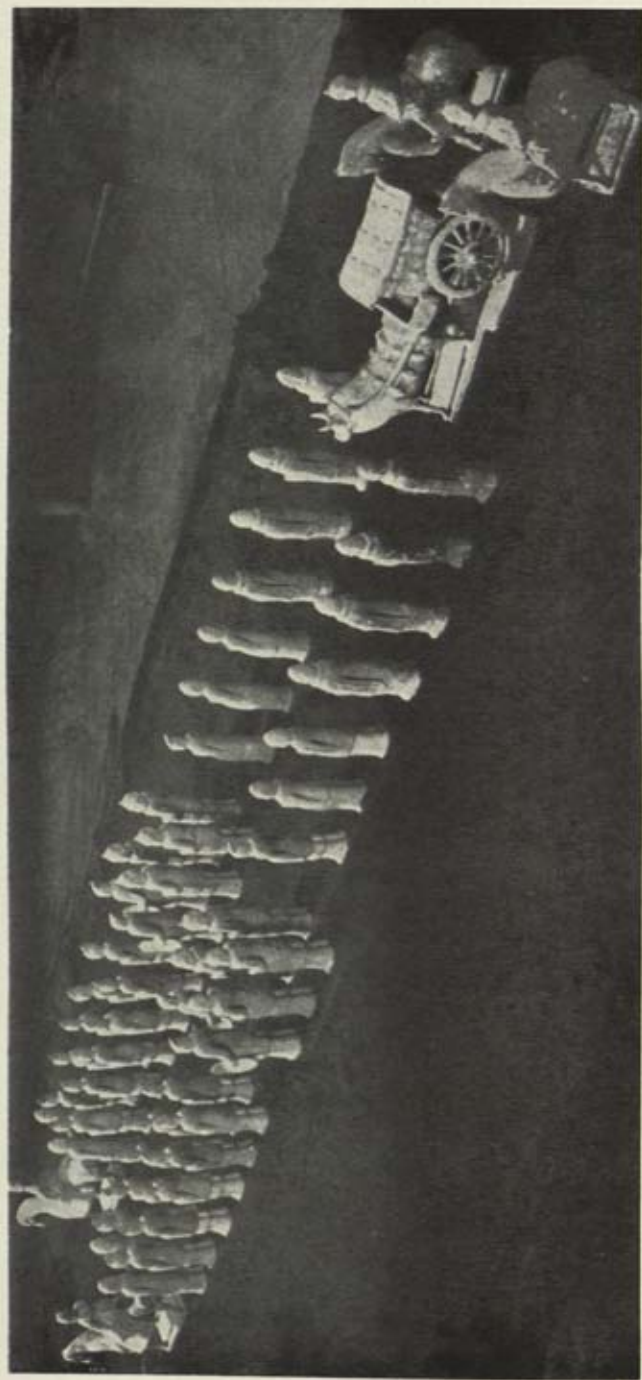


XXXII, *a, b*. – Acrobats of the Period of the Six Dynasties.





XXXII, *c.* – View of Pl. XXXII *b.*



XXXIII, a. - Tomb Retinue. Period of the Six Dynasties.



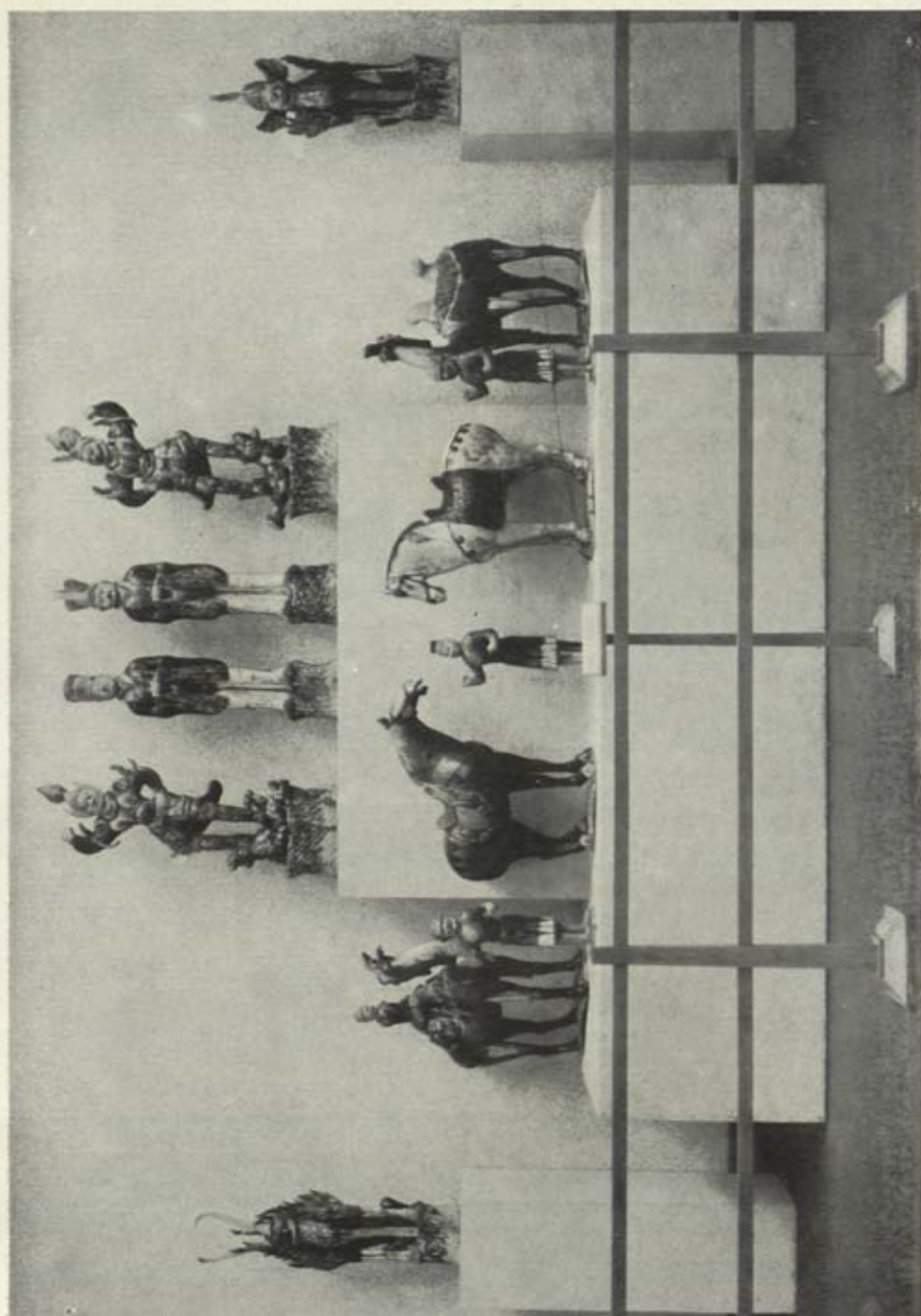


XXXIII, *δ*. - Figurines from Pl. XXXIII *α*.



XXXIV, *a.* - Female Head Joined to Male Body; *b.* - Western Asiatic, Male.



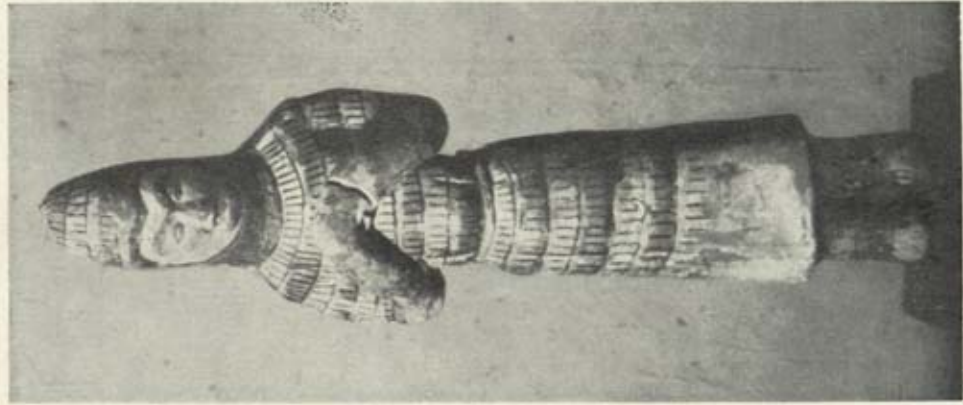
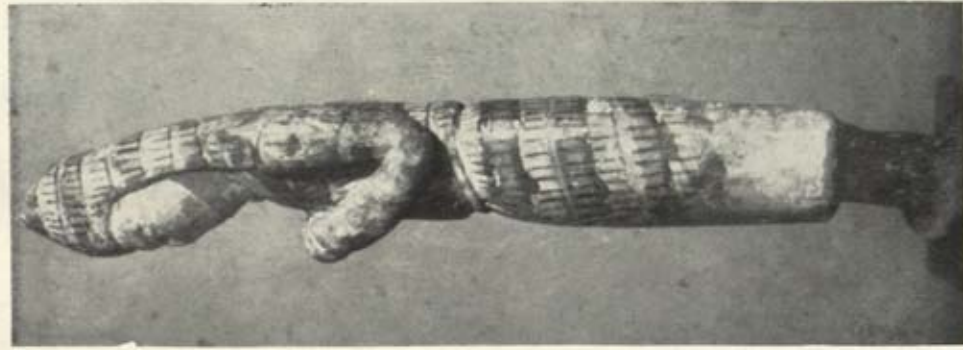


XXXV. - Tang Tomb Retinue.



XXXVI. - Soldier. Period of the Six Dynasties.





XXXVII, *a, b*. - Soldier from Central Asia; *c*. - Early Tang Warrior, Altaic-Tocharian Type.



XXXVIII, *a, b.* — Army Officers. T'ang Period.





XXXVIII, c, d. - Soldiers. T'ang Period.



XXXIX. - Lokapāla or *T'ien Wang*. T'ang Period.



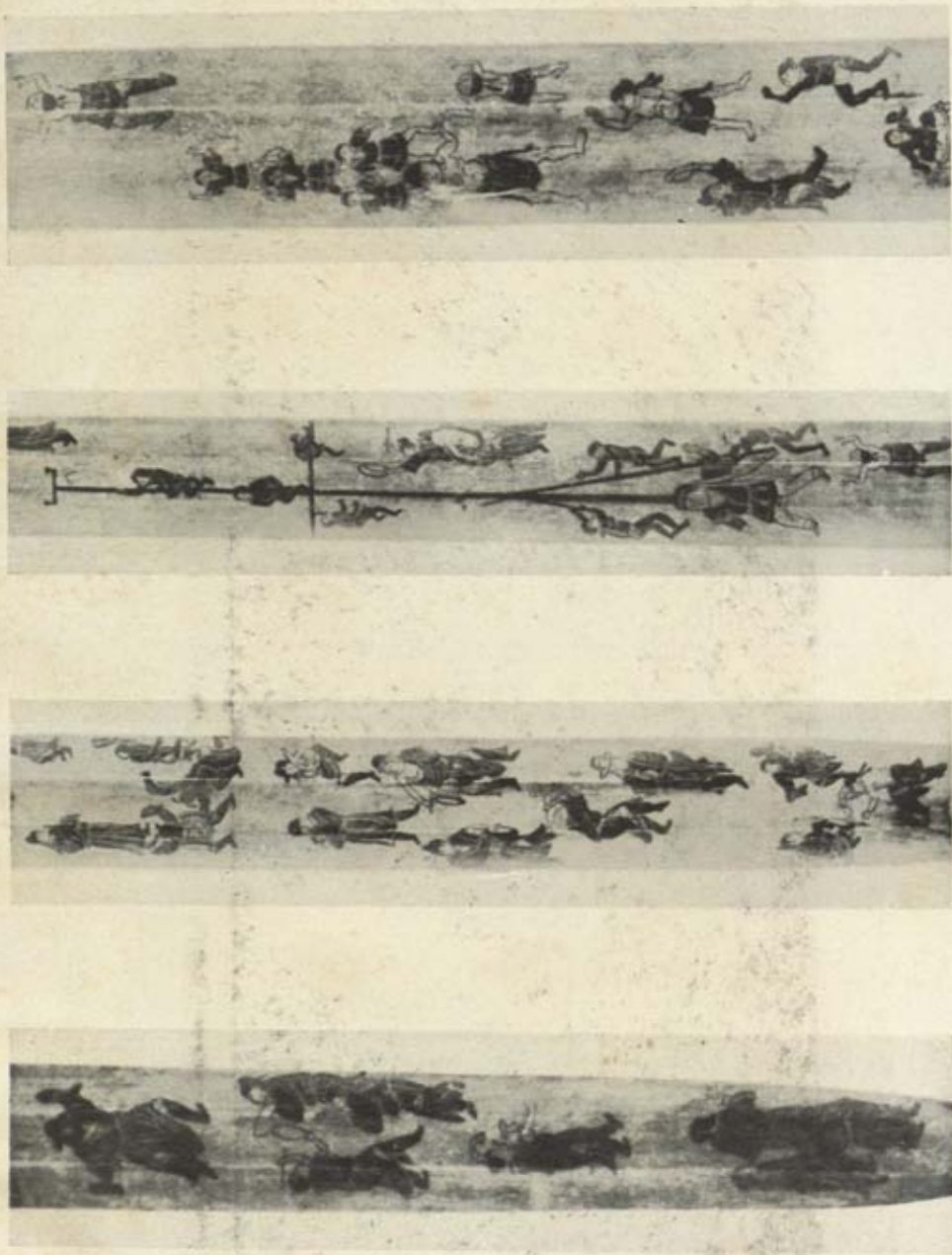


XL. - Guardian or Soldier. T'ang Period.



XLI. - Chinese Lady. Eighth Century.





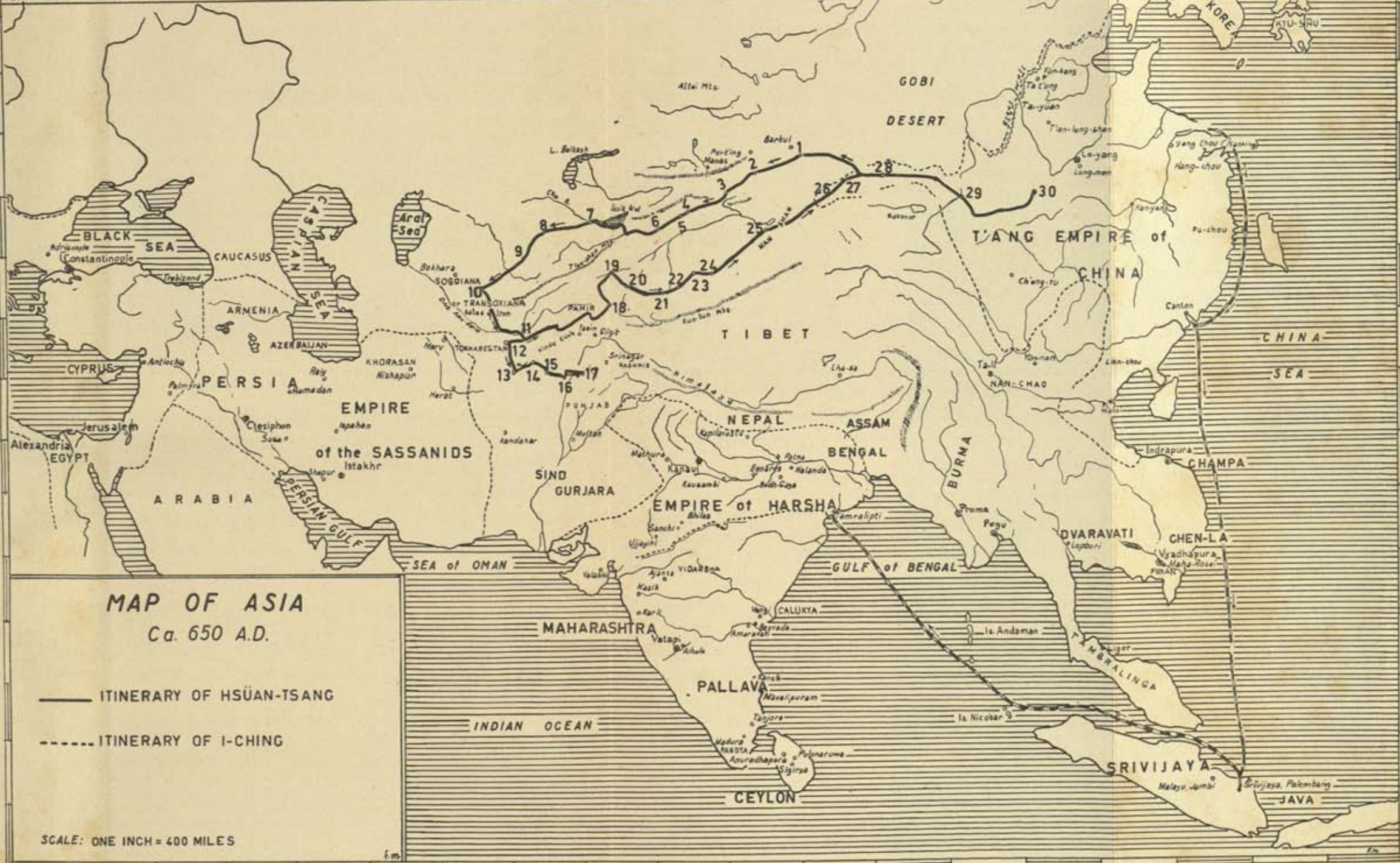
XLII. - Acrobats and Musicians from a Painted Bow, Eighth Century. Shōshōin.



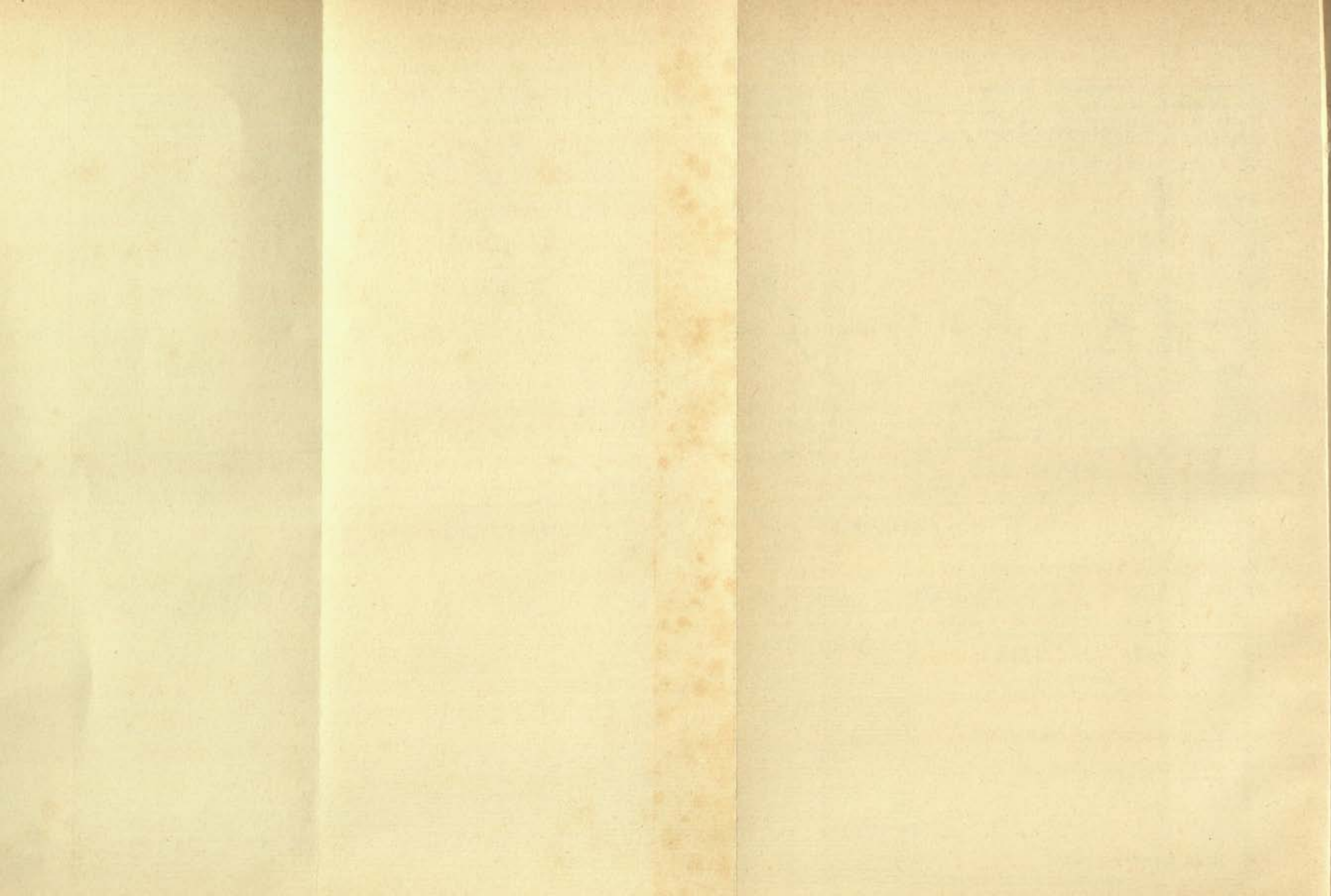


# PLACES ON HSUAN-TSANG'S ITINERARY

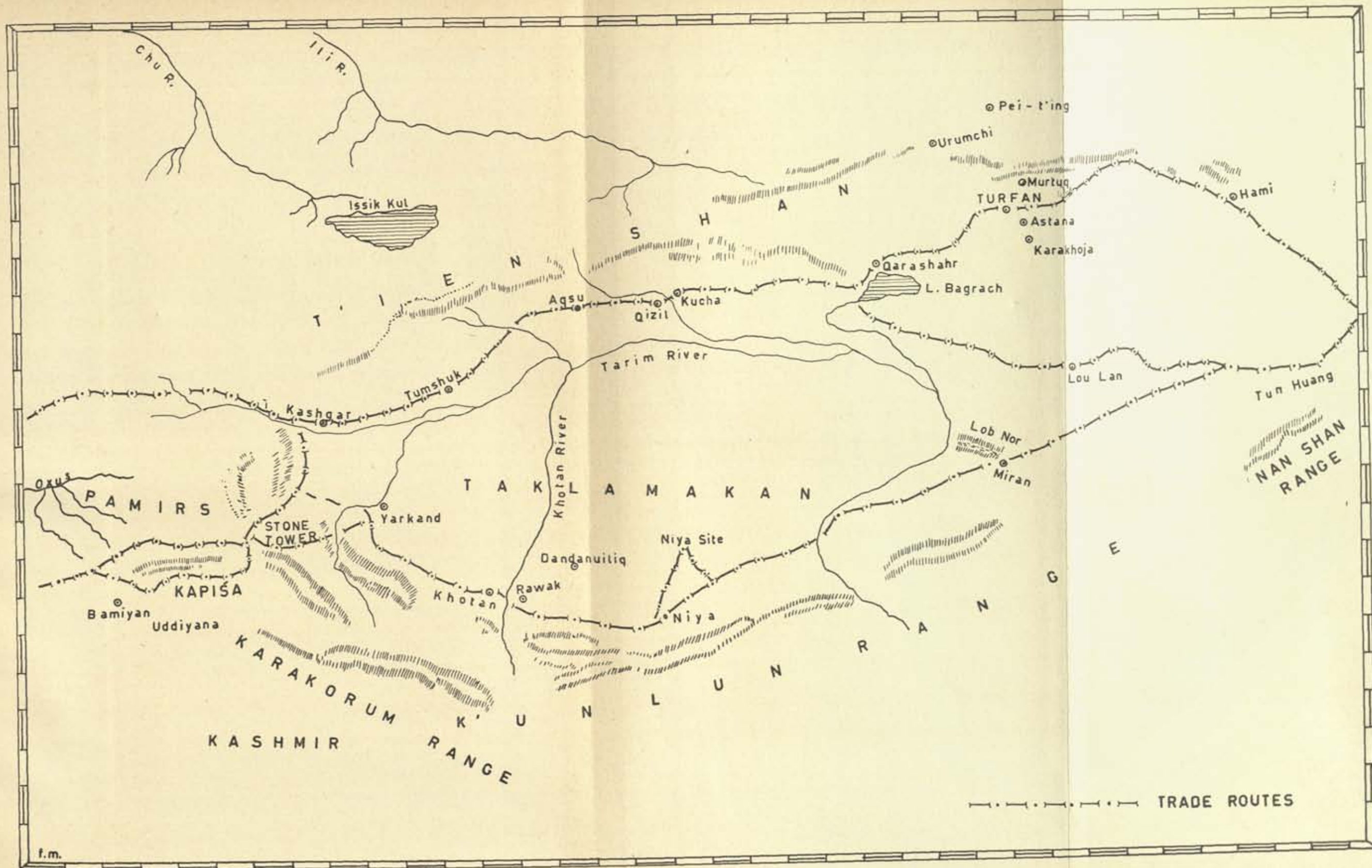
- |              |               |             |                |                 |               |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. HAMI      | 6. AQSU       | 11. BACTRIA | 16. PESHAWAR   | 21. KHOTAN      | 26. TUN-HUANG |
| 2. TURFAN    | 7. TOQMAQ     | 12. KUNDUZ  | 17. TAXILA     | 22. DANDANUILIQ | 27. AN-HSI    |
| 3. QARASHAHR | 8. TALAS      | 13. BAMİYAN | 18. TASHKURGAN | 23. NIYA        | 28. SU-CHOU   |
| 4. KUCHA     | 9. TASHKENT   | 14. KAPISA  | 19. KASHGAR    | 24. ENDERE      | 29. LAN-CHOU  |
| 5. QIZIL     | 10. SAMARKAND | 15. HADDA   | 20. YARKAND    | 25. MIRAN       | 30. CH'ANG-AN |

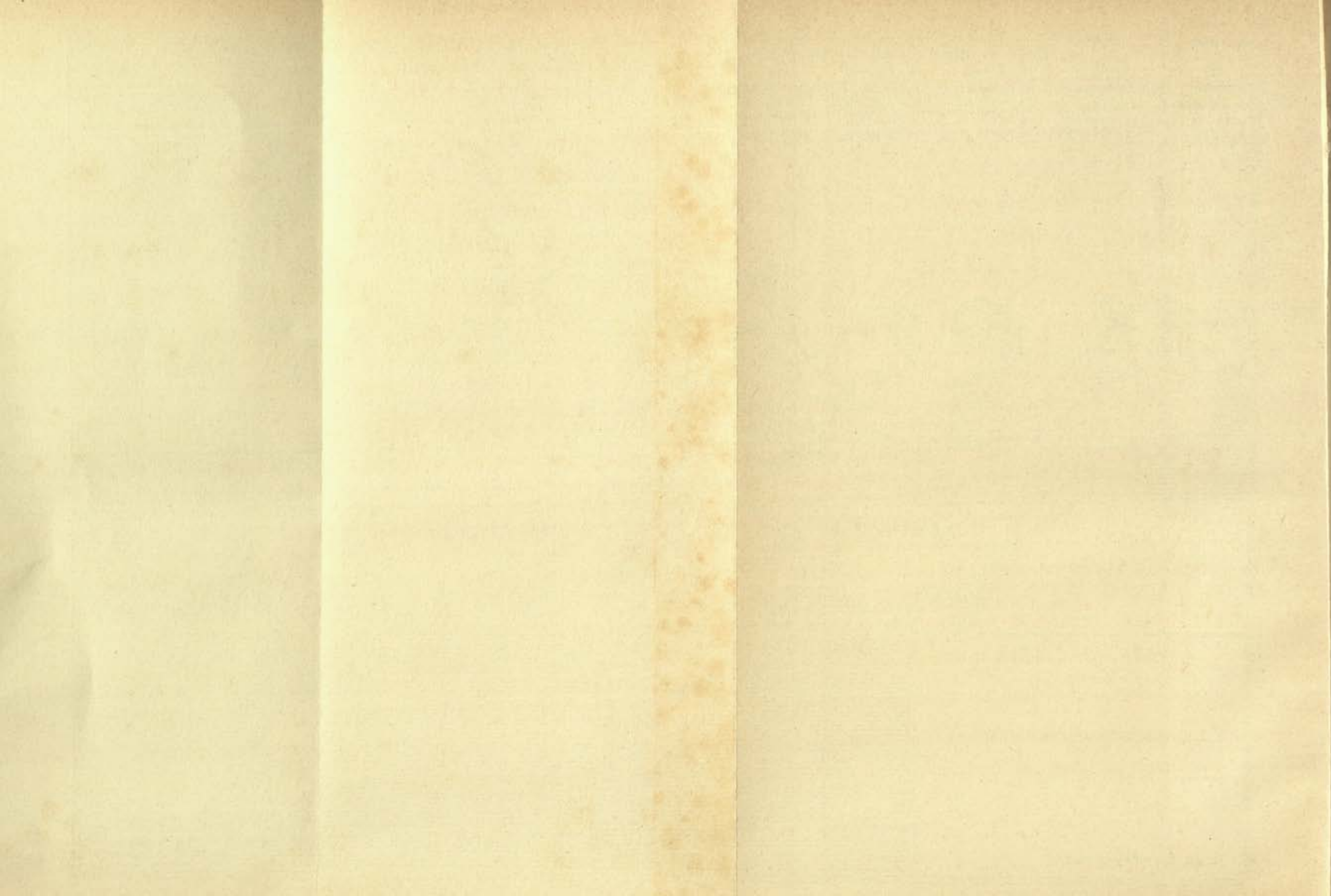




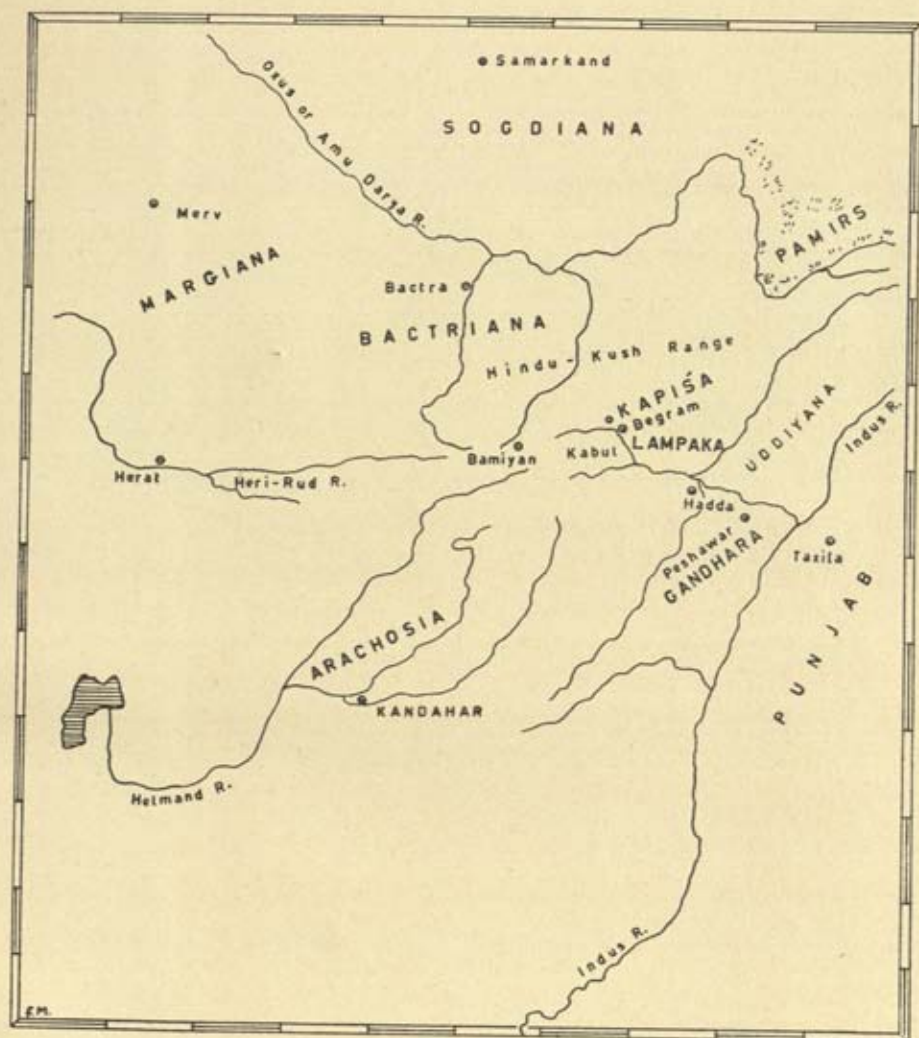






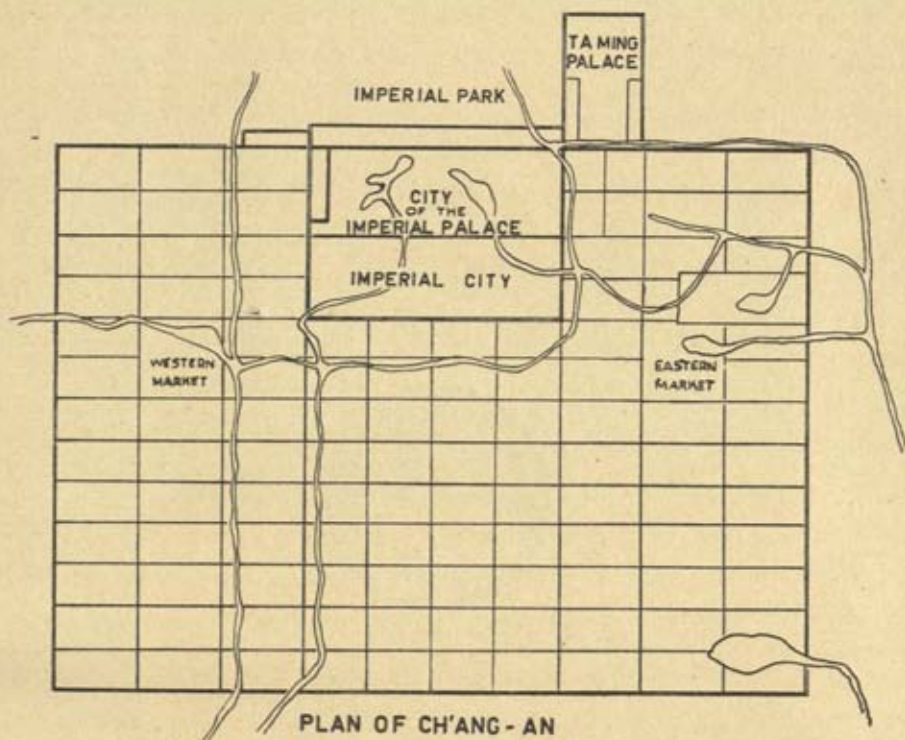












PLAN OF CH'ANG - AN







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